APR 12 1944

UNIV. OF MICH.

HARVARD JOURNAL OF ASIATIC STUDIES

VOLUME 8 MARCH, 1944 NUMBER 1

EDITED BY

SERGE ELISSÉEFF AND JAMES R. WARE

HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE

1944

CONTENTS

PAGE

GAMBLE, SIDNEY D., Hsin Chuang: A Study of Chinese Village Finance 1

JANSE, OLOV R. T., Notes on Chinese Influences in the Philippines in Pre-Spanish Times 34

REVIEWS:

COOMARASWAMY, Ananda K., *Hinduism and Buddhism* . 63

The *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* is published quarterly under the auspices of the HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE. All manuscripts, books for review, subscriptions, and communications should be addressed to the HARVARD JOURNAL OF ASIATIC STUDIES, 17 Boylston Hall, Cambridge 38, Mass., U. S. A. Cheques should be drawn payable to the HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE.

Subscription, five dollars, U. S. currency, per annual volume.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

HSIN CHUANG
A STUDY OF CHINESE VILLAGE FINANCE[1]

SIDNEY D. GAMBLE
NEW YORK CITY

On the fifth day of the first month of the new year, the elected headman of Hsin Chuang 辛庄 (?), his assistant, the members of the committee for the inspection of village affairs and the heads of all the lüs 閭 (units of 25 families) meet together to appoint the village teacher, the village policeman, to complete the accounts of the past year and to post the statement of those accounts. It is a relatively informal meeting without formal organization, procedure, minutes. Decisions are made after informal discussion and argument and are accepted by general agreement rather than definite voting. The decisions reached are carried out by the headman of the village and his assistant and by the employees of the village.

The village records and accounts covering the twenty-five years from 1907 through 1931 are the basis of the story told here of the finances of the village of Hsin Chuang, how the village raised money for its local activities, how much it raised from various sources and what expenditures were included in the village budget. Hsien (county) taxes and expenditures are not included in our study. Along with the picture of the financial transactions of the village, we get glimpses of the life of the lowest unit of government in China. It is primarily an association of all those living in a given area, but it does have official functions that now are recognized by the central government. As the village is in an agricultural area, many of its activities and most of its finances naturally are related to the land. Local security and education also have a large place in the budget. Occasionally recreation and religion are included through the giving of theatrical plays

[1] The data for this study were collected in collaboration with the Research Committee of the Department of Sociology of Yenching University, Peiping, China.

financed by a special assessment on all the landholders in the village.

The accounts naturally do not tell the entire story of village life and organization. Even when supplemented by the comments of the field workers, they often raise questions that need further study for full explanation. This, unfortunately, has not been possible because of the war in North China.

Hsin Chuang, the 36th political community of the third district of Shu-lu Hsien 束鹿縣, is located east of Shih-chia Chuang 石家莊 and some 150 miles southwest of Peiping. It is in the cotton growing area of Hopei Province, and cotton dominates its agricultural and economic life. Some 60 percent of the village land is under cotton, and almost every family in the village is raising some. Our field reports comment on the fact that cotton is the only cash crop of the village with the result that a bad cotton year brings financial difficulties and distress to the village.

Because of the limited rainfall of western Hopei, irrigation is usually needed for cotton cultivation. Hsin Chuang has some 150 wells, each of which ordinarily can irrigate from 20 to 30 mu 畝.[2] If evenly distributed, these wells could give a fairly complete coverage for the some 4,500 mu included in the village area. However, only about one-third of the farm operating families own water wheels, and the reports do not indicate whether any rental or borrowing system is available to the non-owners.

Fifty-seven families own 70 water wheels used for lifting the water from the wells. Ten families had two wheels each, two had three wheels, while two families owned one wheel together. An accurate count of the water wheels was possible as they were under the supervision of a hired watchman. Up until 1932, this was a private enterprise. In 1930 and 1931, the watchman was paid two dollars per wheel per year. If any parts of the wheels were stolen the watchman was expected to indemnify the owner for his loss. In 1932, the watching of the water wheels was taken over by the village and added to the activities of the local guard. The annual charge was then increased to three dollars per wheel

[2] 1 Mu = Approximately 1/6 Acre.

per year. The income was used to help meet the expenses of the local guard.

One hundred and eighty families lived in Hsin Chuang in 1932. The number of individual residents was not reported, but judging from the averages found in other villages, it probably was about 1,000 persons. The families live along a central street running east and west. Most of them live on the south side of the street. Only a few families at the east end of the village live on the north side of the street. The village is large enough so there is a distinct rivalry between the east and west ends. There is a small central district that is related partly to the east and partly to the west ends. All but seven of the families owned some farm land. No report was made of the non-farming occupations of the village families, but as Hsin Chuang is in the cotton growing area, the supplemental occupations undoubtedly included considerable spinning and weaving.

From the village account books, it seems apparent that the number of families living in the village has been increasing during the period under review. A very complete record of the number of land owning families and the amount of land each owned is available, for each year in the spring they were required to register their land with the village authorities and pay an assessment based on the amount of land owned. The assessment rate per mu is fixed by the village authorities and varies from year to year depending on the needs of the village and the amount of income received from other sources. Judging by the 1931 figures, the non-land owning families would not represent more than 4 percent of the village families. As far as we can learn, they do not make any direct contribution to the village finances. In other villages, stores or other business will sometimes register an arbitrary amount of "land" and pay an assessment on that basis.

In 1910, the number of families registering their land with the village authorities was 134 (Table I). It was the same in 1917 and in 1919, but was 144 in 1918. We have not been able to find a reason for this increase of ten families and a similar decrease the following year. There was relatively little change in the amount of land registered. After 1920, the number of families

was over 150. The maximum was 177 in 1928. In 1931, the number was 173. Our field investigators remarked particularly that these were all resident families. They said that Hsin Chuang did not have a definite area of land controlled by the village organization and the residents of the village registered the land they owned even if part of it was located at some distance from the village. In other villages where the village controls a definite land area, the families registering land often include non-resident families as all those who own land within the village area are supposed to register it with the village authorities.

Changes in land ownership plus minor delinquencies in registration accounted for considerable fluctuation in the amount of land registered year by year. For no two years is the amount the same. The differences ranged from one to 237 mu. In both 1913 and 1914, over 200 mu were added to the village total. One hundred mu were added in 1920, and in 1923 another 199 mu. The totals ranged from 3,590 mu in 1908 to 4,512 mu in 1926 (Table I). The registration for 1931 was 4,322 mu. The increase in the number of families more than offset the increase in the land registered, so that the average amount of land per family registering dropped from 31.7 mu in 1917 to 25.0 mu in 1931.

The 1931 area was equivalent to 1–1/8 square miles. The population density, therefore, was approximately 900 persons per square mile of farm land. The large amount of irrigated land and the consequent larger than average return undoubtedly was at least partly responsible for the high population density. The amount of unfarmed land included in roads, the village, waste land, is not known, so we cannot accurately determine the population density for the total area, but it probably is over 750 persons per square mile.

From the land registration books, it has been possible to study the distribution of families and of the land according to the amount of land registered by each family. As the number of families and the amount of land has varied from year to year, the figures are given in percentages. The distribution of the families is based on exact count, but for the land the figures are computed on the probable average size holding for each of the

groups. The figures have varied from year to year, influenced by the economic experience of the area, but the distribution in 1931 is very similar to that of 1910. The families with less than five mu were 14 percent of the group in 1910; 26.5 percent from 1920 to 1922; but 15 percent in 1931. The families with from 5.0 to 9.9 mu were 23.9 percent in 1910 and 23.1 in 1931, but in 1919 were only 12 percent of the group. (Table II).

Families with from 10.0 to 19.9 mu generally were approximately one-quarter of the group, 24.2 percent in 1931. The variation was from 19.4 percent to 28.6 percent. Those with from 20.0 to 49.9 mu included almost another one-quarter of the group, 23.2 percent in 1931, with a variation from 29.5 percent in 1914 to 17.9 in 1922. The next group with from 50.0 to 99.9 mu showed the widest proportional variation, dropping from 9.7 percent in 1910 to 2.6 percent in 1923 and then increasing to 11 percent in 1931. Families with from 100 to 299 mu were 9.7 percent of the group in 1919 and 1923, but were 5.2 percent in 1910 and 3.5 percent in 1931. No family had as much as 300 mu, 50 acres. After 1925, there was only one family with more than 200 mu.

A slightly different grouping of the families shows that 38 percent of the families generally have less than 10 mu of land; just under a quarter have from 10 to 19 mu; about the same proportion has from 20 to 49 mu; while 15 percent have 50 mu or more.

In 1931, the 15 percent of the families who had less than 5 mu per family owned only 1.5 percent of the land. The 38 percent with less than 10 mu per family owned some 8.3 percent of the land. At the other end of the scale, the 11 percent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu owned 29.4 percent, while the 3.5 percent with 100 or more mu owned 20.9 percent of the land. (Table III).

Through the years, the proportion of the land held by the different groups remained fairly constant in the lower brackets, but there was a wide variation in the upper groups. From 1910 to 1923 the proportion held by the 50 to 99 mu group dropped from 24.2 percent to 5.8 percent. During the same time the proportion owned by the families with 100 or more mu almost

doubled, increasing from 28.4 percent to 52.1 percent. This increase was largely at the expense of the groups of families with from 20 to 49 mu and from 50 to 99 mu. After 1923, these trends were reversed. By 1926 the amount owned by the 50 to 99 mu group increased to 20.7 percent while that held by the families with 100 or more mu dropped to 32.7 percent. By 1931 the proportion held by the 50 to 99 mu group was up to 29.4 percent while that of the 100 and over group had declined to 20.9 percent.

If the two top groups are combined, the families with 50 or more mu owned 52.2 percent of the land in 1910 and 50.3 percent in 1931. In 1919, however, they held 59.2 percent and 61.7 percent in 1922.

The Revolution in 1911, a flood in 1917, drought in 1920, fighting from 1924 on were the outstanding events for Hopei Province from 1910 to 1931. We have tried to trace the effect of these events on the land registration in Hsin Chuang but cannot find any changes that appear to be the direct and recognizable result of these events. The changes seem to have been cyclic in nature rather than the result of the events of any one year, and the 1931 figures are almost the same as those for 1910.

It must be remembered that the figures given above represent land ownership. The records do not give any indication of the amount of landlordism or tenancy since, in this village, it is the custom for the landowners to pay the village assessment on the land. However, with only some 4 percent of the families having no land, the percentage of complete tenancy could not be large, and the proportion of part-tenancy was probably not high.

In one district of a nearby hsien (Tinghsien 定), we found in 1931 that among 6,555 families 15.8 percent owned no land. Of the land-owning families, 9.7 percent were landlords, renting land to others, but only 1.7 percent rented all the land they owned. Of the farm-operating families, which included 95.9 percent of all the families in the district, 12 percent were tenants, and 37.4 percent were part-tenants. Owner operators were just over 50 percent, but owners and part-owners were 88 percent of the farming families.

The organization handling the financial and political affairs of

Hsin Chuang is called the Public Bureau. The name has more of an official and formal atmosphere than the Green Crop Associations, the Public Associations and Public Welfare Associations found in other villages. It definitely lacks the worship feature usually found in the Green Crop Associations. In the association type of organization, a number of the village leaders usually form a sort of village council to work with and to control the village head and his assistant. It is reported that in the Public Bureau this group of leaders has been missing and that instead there have been a number of subordinate leaders, each of whom was the head of a group of ten families. The village head would call these men together to discuss important issues, but their position, in both theory and practice, was inferior to that of the village head, even though they served as the representatives of the people in the election of the village head and his assistant.

This system was changed in 1928 when the Nationalist Government came to North China. The emphasis it placed on the authority of the people brought a new system of popular election instead of the old representative elective system. The first popular election was held at the end of 1928. To establish the new system, the election was carefully supervised by representatives of both the hsien and the district governments. There was no contest for the position of village head. The incumbent was well liked and was voted for by everybody. Competition centered around the position of assistant head with candidates put forward by the east and west sections of the village. Some 210 persons voted. The east candidate won by a margin of ten votes. Although the women are entitled to vote, our investigators reported that they would not take part in the election.

In 1929, the village head and assistant head were both re-elected, but in 1930, the assistant head was promoted to be village head. The new assistant head was a young man whose father had been village head some years before.

Beginning in 1928, the voters were also called on to elect three committees, one for the management of village finances, one for the settlement of village disputes and one for the inspection of village affairs.

Instead of the old groups of ten families, the village was divided into groups of five and 25 families called lin and lü respectively. Five of the smaller lin 隣 groups made one of the larger lü groups. The heads of these groups were at first appointed by the village head and assistant head, but in 1932, the heads of the lü (groups of 25 families) were elected by the families that they represented.

The affairs of the village are managed by the village head and his assistant, but the lü heads and the committee members form a sort of village council who are consulted concerning important matters. In the group the qualities of position and leadership, undoubtedly, have a great deal of influence.

The village accounts show no salaries for the village head or the assistant head, or for the heads of the lin and lü groups. Those officials all serve without pay. However, when they are on village business their expenses are met from village funds. The regular paid personnel of the village government includes the chia-ti or political agent, the village clerk, the night watchmen and the village school teacher.

In studying the village finances, we have been faced with the problem of the use of two different money units. From 1907 through 1923, the accounts were kept in terms of cash, the unit for the copper coinage, after 1925 in terms of dollars, a silver unit. For 1924 and 1925, the figures are given partly in cash and partly in dollars. To convert from one currency to the other, it has been necessary to use a variable exchange rate. In 1907 and 1908, the rate was 2,200 cash per dollar. It was 3,000 for the four years from 1917 through 1920, but in 1924, it was 4,000 and 6,200 in 1925. (Table I). In only two of the years studied was there any decline in the exchange rate. In 1912, the rate was 2,700. In 1913, it was 2,600. In 1916, it was 2,950 cash, 150 less than the 1915 rate of 3,100.

We have been interested to compare these exchange rates with those for Peiping. If the Hsin Chuang rates are divided by two, the two rates correspond very closely. The changes came at the same time and in about the same proportion. The two to one difference between the rates is undoubtedly accounted for by a difference in the size of the tiao 吊, the bookkeeping unit for

copper coins. This is borne out by the field report that gave the price of the official mortgage forms sold by the village as 200 cash or ten coppers. The ten cash copper coins were usually known as "coppers." The 20 cash coins were "double coppers." It seems evident, therefore, that the payment of 100 cash in coin settled a charge of 200 cash. This two to one factor is, of course, compensated for in the silver-copper exchange rate. We have not known of any such factor being used when the accounts are kept in dollars.

Because of the increase of the exchange rate and the consequent depreciation in the silver value of the copper coins, the copper and silver figures for the earlier years give quite a different picture of village finance. Often the silver value decreased in spite of an increase in the copper value. However, the only possible picture for the entire period is that given by the silver values and they, therefore, have been used throughout.

The increasing amounts of cash paid for continuing services such as salaries of town employees show the depreciation of the copper currency. In 1910, the annual wage of the chia-ti 甲地 or political agent was 40,000 cash. He was paid 74,270 cash in 1917, 100,000 cash in 1923 and 236,630 cash in 1925. The wage of the village clerk did not increase as rapidly, but it rose from 24,000 cash in 1910 to 114,000 cash in 1925. The village school teacher received 80,000 cash in 1910 and 583,500 cash in 1925. The ratios of increase during 15 years were approximately six, five and seven times the 1910 rates.

That there also was a depreciation in the value of the dollar is shown by the increasing amounts of dollar value paid for these continuing services. The dollar equivalent of the chia-ti's yearly salary went up from $15.10 in 1910 to $38.17 in 1925. The silver wage was fixed at $42.00 in 1926 and remained constant through 1931. The increase in terms of silver, from 1910 to 1926, was 178 percent. In Peiping, the silver wages of a skilled workman rose 166 percent from 1910 to 1927.[3] The school teacher's salary increased 220 percent from 1910 to 1926 and over 400 percent

[3] GAMBLE, S. D., *Peking Wages*, Yenching University, Peiping.

from 1910 to 1931, but it is quite evident that part of the increase was given in order to secure better and more adequately trained teachers.

The detailed reports for 1910 and 1930 are given as examples of the village accounts and as illustrative of items included in the reports for the twenty-five years. (Tables IV and V).

The year by year income and expenses are given in Tables VI and VII. The figures given there for 1910 and 1930 are less than the totals given in Table IV and V. The former are net income and expense and so do not include the balances carried forward or deposits or loans made or repaid. These items do not represent current income or expenditure for village activities and, therefore, have regularly been omitted.

The total annual income varied from $127.20 in 1907 to $1,355.40 in 1931. Before 1910, it was less than $150. From 1910 to 1922, it ordinarily varied between $214 and $368. For two years, 1913 and 1914, it was higher because of unusually large amounts received in connection with land transfers. In 1917, it dropped to $126 as there was no land assessment that year because of the widespread flood. After 1922, the amount collected rose rapidly. The 1923 total was almost four times and the 1925 total was five times the amount for 1922. From 1925 on, the income was regularly over $1,000 a year and for two years was over $1,300.

The total annual expense naturally follows practically the same pattern as the income. It was between $120 and $147 before 1910, usually between $200 and $320 from 1910 to 1922. In 1918, it was low, $194, as the school was discontinued that year because of the flood losses the year before. Beginning with 1924, the total expenses were regularly over $1,000. The maximum was $1,469 in 1931, an amount just over ten times the total for 1907.

Comparing the income and expense totals, it would appear that through the 25 years the village had collected $538.60 more than it had expended. Some of this is represented in an increased cash balance. In 1910 the balance carried forward was $2.15. In 1930, it was $207.72. Part of the surplus income may be in increased loans and deposits. Unfortunately, the accounts do not give the

total amount of these outstanding. In 1910, the loans and deposits were increased $126.97. In 1930, they were decreased $82.34. Part of the surplus was absorbed by losses on exchange due to the depreciation of the copper currency. There was a loss of some $86.80 on the mortgages the village held for ten years.

From the accounts, it is evident that any surplus in the village funds usually was not held by the village but was turned over to some of the residents either as a demand loan without interest or as a term loan with interest. We cannot but wonder how it was decided who was to receive the funds available for loan, especially those loaned without interest. Probably it was one of the perquisites of the village leaders or at least of the wealthier men of the village.

In 1913 and 1914, the village received unusually large amounts of money, almost one million five hundred thousand cash in 1913 and over one million cash in 1914. In 1913, 980,000 cash were used to purchase six mortgages ranging in amount from 60,000 to 500,000 cash. In 1914, three more mortgages were purchased for a total of 160,000 cash. The total mortgage investment of 1,140,000 cash was the equivalent of $434.06. In 1922, one mortgage was increased 6,000 cash, $1.90. At the end of 1918, 20 percent was paid off on all the mortgages. One was entirely paid off in 1919, the rest in 1922. The depreciation of the value of the copper coinage reduced the silver value of the mortgage investment $86.80, or some 20 percent during the ten years it was outstanding.

Ordinarily the mortgagee takes over the property and operates it during the life of the mortgage. The village, however, instead of taking over the property, collected interest at the rate of 15 percent per annum.

It is perhaps suggestive to note that eight of the nine mortgagors had the same family name. However, we cannot say that this denotes special favoritism for we do not know how large a proportion of the families in the village had the same family name. We know of other villages where all the families have the same name.

The village income is received largely from four main sources,

the land money or assessment on the land owned by the residents of the village, taxes on the transfer and mortgaging of land, fees for the measurement of land sold, school tuition and fees. Besides these, there are numerous other miscellaneous sources of revenue, but they generally make up a relatively small part of the total income, ordinarily less than 15 percent (Table VI).

Every year in the spring, the families living in the village are required to register the land they own and pay to the village authorities an assessment, the amount of which is determined by the rate per mu established by the village authorities and the amount of land owned. This assessment is over and above any land tax levied by the hsien government. The amount of the levy depends upon the size of the village budget and the income received from other sources. Ordinarily, the assessment was paid in two instalments, spring and fall; but additional payments could be required in case of special need. We have known of villages where as many as four payments were required in one year. From 1907 to 1923, the rate per mu varied from nothing to 100 cash per year (Table I). The average was 47 cash per year. In terms of silver, the assessment was usually from 1.5 to 2.0 cents per mu with the maximum 4.0 cents per mu. The average was 1.5 cents per mu per year. At these rates, the total land assessment was less than $100 per year, except for 1908 and 1910. In 1910, when the assessment rate was 100 cash per mu the total was 367,852 cash, $147.14. An extra amount was needed that year to pay 180,000 cash, $72, rent for the village schoolhouse. The yearly rent was 30,000 cash, but it was paid in advance for six years. As the accounts do not give the expenditures for 1908, we cannot discover the reason for the unusually high assessment of 80 cash per mu.

In 1917, there was no land assessment. The serious, widespread floods of the fall caused so much damage that all taxes and assessments were remitted. We have been interested to note, however, that the records stated that there were two assessments in 1918, one of eight cash per mu for 1917 and one of 30 cash per mu for 1918. Three hundred cash of land money was received in 1917, but this was a delayed payment for 1916. In 1913, the assessment

was only 10 cash per mu. because the village received unusually large amounts of income from the land transfers. In 1922, only 10 cash per mu was charged as 838,000 cash, $246.47, was received from the payment of eight mortgages held by the village. Also the village had a surplus of 328,188 cash, $102.56, at the beginning of the year.

In 1924, the land money was put on a silver basis with the rate 15 cents per mu. This was 15 times the silver equivalent of the previous year's rate. This big increase was necessary to secure the funds needed to pay for a new school building which cost 2,493,136 cash, $541.98. From 1924 through 1931, the rate varied from 12 to 23 cents per mu. The average was 17 cents. The minimum was paid in 1927, the maximum in 1928. The accounts do not show the reason for the increase of almost 100 percent in 1928, but in general the large demands of the military in connection with the fighting that began in 1924 and the expense of equipping and maintaining a home guard were the chief factors that kept up the assessment rate.

Whenever land was sold or mortgaged, the village collected a tax or fee. The field report gives the rate of tax in 1907 as 3 percent on a mortgage and 1 percent on a sale. In the middle of 1910, the mortgage tax was reduced to 2 percent though in a few cases the rate was not strictly followed. The village tax on mortgages and transfers were both discontinued after 1920. These two taxes together produced income varying from $ .03 to $193.08 a year. 1910 and 1913 were the only years when the amount was over $100, but in 1914 and 1916 it was over $95. For the twelve years from 1909 to 1920, the average was $86.03. 1913, the year of the largest income, was the same year that the village bought six mortgages for almost one million cash. In 1914, another large income year, the village purchased three more mortgages. Evidently, there was an unusually large amount of land mortgaged or sold those two years. We wonder whether the financial situation was so serious following the Revolution of 1911 that many of the village residents had to borrow on their land. Because of the large income from the mortgage and sales taxes, the village was able to reduce the land assessment for 1913 to 10 cash per mu.

It was 60 cash in 1914. There are no outstanding political events that might account for the large income from land transfers in 1910.

From 1915 through 1920, the accounts separate the amounts received from land transfers and mortgages. For the six years, income from land sales was only one-fifth of the income from mortgages. We were interested to note that in 1917 no land transfer tax was reported, although the mortgage tax amounted to $56.10. Possibly the taxes remitted because of the flood included the transfer tax as well as the hsien land tax and the village land assessment.

The village taxes on land transfers and mortgages were discontinued in 1921, but in 1926 a new charge was made in connection with mortgages. Forty cents was charged for attaching the village seal to the official mortgage documents. These apparently were issued by the village authorities. The charge was divided between the mortgagor and the mortgagee, 30 cents and 10 cents. The fee was raised to $1 in 1932. It was then collected only from the mortgagor. Beginning in 1930, tax stamps were required on mortgages. The amount of income received from these sources varied from $1.20 to $36.86.

A small fee was charged for the official forms used for mortgages. Ordinarily this was included in the miscellaneous receipts, but in 1910 it amounted to $5.50 and in 1930 to $5.00. In 1910 the charge was 200 cash, eight cents per sheet.

Beginning in 1912,[4] the village made a charge for measuring land that had been sold and was being transferred to a new owner. This was in addition to the tax on sales and mortgages. The hsien authorities appointed individuals in different parts of the hsien as official measurers and gave each of them a standard measure. For an appointment as land measurer, or rather for the official measure, a small fee was paid to the hsien government. It was the measurers' duty to measure land at the time of transfer. For this service, they were entitled to charge a fee. Their measure-

[4] The field report gave 1912 as the year when the village began to collect on land measurement, but the detailed account for 1910 shows $4.33 received for land measurement.

ment was accepted as official by the buyer and seller, for the entries on the village and hsien land books and for taxes. The buyer was particularly anxious to get the official measurement as it would protect him from future trouble concerning boundaries, et cetera.

Although an individual held the official measure in 1912, the village took over the measurement of land and made it a source of village income. They collected 106,644 cash, $39.50. Just how the official measurer was persuaded to perform his service when the village collected the fee is not clear. At any rate, the village accounts for 1912 do not show any payment to him for his services. Possibly he was able to collect additional fees from the landowners.

In 1913, the village collected 584,318 cash, $224.74, for land measurement. That year they evidently tried to work out a compromise arrangement with the official measurer for he was paid 15,000 cash as wages and 8,000 cash as subsidy, a total of $8.50. He was also paid 15,000 cash in 1914 and 1915. It would appear that he felt this was much too small a proportion of the amount received and demanded more, for an argument developed between the measurer and the village officials that finally was taken to court. Five villages joined in the suit for the official measurer had secured, from the hsien government, the appointment for that area. He lived in one village and had a deputy in each of the other four villages. The lawsuit was not settled until 1915. Evidently, the villages won their suit and eliminated the measurer for thereafter his name did not appear in the accounts. For Hsin Chuang, the expenses of the lawsuit were 37,234 cash, $12.40. The village had to pay a small sum to the hsien government for permission to act as official measurer. The amount of this payment, unfortunately, was not reported. After the village had been appointed as an official measurer and had secured the official rule, the measuring was done by the chia-ti, and the official records were kept by the village clerk.

The receipts for the land measurement fluctuated widely with extremes of $3.55 in 1918 and $299.46 in 1923. From 1921 on, the amount was regularly over $100 per year with the average $162.

The field report stated that the measurement fee was to be collected from the buyer when land was sold and that the charge should be 2 percent. It was also stated that measurement was not required when land was mortgaged for, although the mortgagee took over the property, there was no change of ownership and by paying the mortgage, the owner could recover the property.

From the report, it would appear that there should be a close correlation between the amount received for land measurement and from the land transfer tax. The actual figures, however, show no correlation whatever either between the measurement and transfer amounts or between measurement and transfer plus mortgage taxes. There must have been some other unreported factor involved. For example, the measurement fees jumped from $3.55 in 1918 to $118.85 in 1919. The transfer tax in these years was $4.45 and $25.42, and the mortgage tax $64.17 and $58.68.

Part of the expenses of the village school are met by tuition and other fees paid by the pupils. When the school was opened in 1910, the annual tuition rates were set at 3,000, 4,000 and 5,000 cash or $1.20, $1.60 and $2.00 per pupil. The amount paid depended upon the amount of land owned by the family. Those with less than 15 mu paid 3,000 cash per pupil, those with from 15 to 40 mu paid 4,000 cash, and those with more than 40 mu paid 5,000 cash. In 1912, a fourth class was added for families with more than 60 mu. The rate was 6,000 cash. In 1914, a fifth class was added for families with from 50 to 60 mu. For them the tuition was set at 5,500 cash. This class was discontinued after two years.

The school opened in 1910 with 12 pupils. All of them were children of families with less than 40 mu of land. We can only surmise why the wealthier families were not more interested in the new school. Two years later 60 percent of the students came from families with over 40 mu of land. By 1914, the enrollment was over 20. In 1922, it jumped from 29 to 37. Because of the flood in the fall of 1917, there was no village school in 1918. The school work, however, was not discontinued as the former village head carried on the school and personally met the balance of the teacher's salary and other expenses not covered by a small tuition charge.

In 1923, the tuition was made payable in dollars instead of cash. The rates were $1.00 for families with less than 15 mu, $1.50 for those with from 15 to 40 mu and $2.00 for families with more than 40 mu. This was a 28 percent increase for the 40 to 60 mu families but only 7 percent for the families with less than 15 mu or more than 60 mu of land. However, the enrollment dropped from 37 to 16, a 57 percent loss. The increase in tuition could hardly be the cause of this big decrease as most of the loss was in the wealthier groups where the number dropped from 22 to four. The 1924 enrollment was up to 31, almost double the 1923 total. Most of the increase came from the lowest income families.

Tuition fees were increased again in 1925 to $3.00, $3.50 and $4.00 for the three groups of families. This increase did not affect the enrollment which was two more than in 1924. There were 40 pupils in 1926, 45 in 1930 and 42 in 1931. This number probably did not represent more than one out of five of the children of school age.

We have been interested to note that in 1931, 45 percent of the students came from the families with less than 15 mu of land and 24 percent came from families with more than 40 mu. Of the village families, 52 percent had less than 15 mu and 20 percent had 40 mu and over. Figures from other sources show that the wealthier families are regularly larger in number and are apt, therefore, to have a larger number of children per family than the poorer families. Consequently, it would seem that the different groups of families were sending about the same proportion of their children to the village school. Ordinarily, one would expect a larger proportion from the wealthier families.

Beginning in 1919, there was a small charge per student for water supplied by the school. It was 600 cash, 20 cents, in 1919, 400 cash from 1920 through 1922 and 600 cash, 15 cents, in 1923. For the next two years, the charge was 10 cents per student. It was raised to 20 cents in 1926 and continued at that rate through 1931. The income from this source was less than $9.00 per year and from 1919 to 1925 ranged from $2.40 to $4.87.

The total school income varied from $14.80 in 1910 to $154.44 in 1929. Only once before 1925 was the total more than $50.

From 1926 on, it was over $131. The average for 21 years was $68 per year, or a little more than one-third of the average expense. (Table VI).

Interest on the mortgages held by the village was a sizeable item from 1913 through 1921. When the full amount of 1,140,000 cash was outstanding, the 15 percent interest amounted to 171,000 cash, or from $61.07 to $57.00 depending upon the rate of exchange. As the mortgages were paid off, the interest was reduced until for 1922 it was 125,700 cash or $36.97.

The figures in Table VI show the actual amount received. About one-fifth of the 1915 interest was paid in 1916. Only half of the 1917 interest was collected that year. The other half was received in 1918. The 1918 interest apparently was forgiven because of the flood the previous year, but the 1919 interest was received in 1918. Very good crops in 1918 evidently made possible this advanced payment. The interest continued to be paid largely in advance for the next three years. As a result, no interest was collected in 1922 when the mortgages were paid off. Some unpaid interest amounting to 13,200 cash, $3.30, was received in 1923.

Miscellaneous items of income totaled from $7.66 to $206.70. For only four years out of 25 was the amount over $70. Usually it was less than 15 percent of the total income. The field reports do not give a complete list of the items included under miscellaneous, but the records do show interest on loans, interest on a government bond, sale of trees belonging to the village, the sale of special official forms and stamps, contributions for the purchase of coal for the school, profit on a play given by the village, payment by the army for some services rendered by the village. In 1923, the village received 460,000 cash, $115 from the sale of trees that belonged to the village. The same year, the village had $42.34 left over from the special assessment for the village play.

The total village expenses follow practically the same pattern as the total income. The minimum was $120.27 in 1909, the maximum $1,469.16 in 1931. From 1907 through 1909, the total was below $150. From 1910 to 1922, the amount was generally between $200 and $300. In 1923, it jumped to $534.19 and in 1924 to $1,013.18. Since 1924, it has averaged $1,095. (Table VII).

The village head men, the various committees, the heads of the lin and lü groups of families all serve without pay. Two employees, one known as the chia-ti or political agent, the other the village clerk carry on the routine work of the village administration. The term chia-ti is evidently a combination of two older terms pao-chia 保甲 and ti-pao 地保. The title was changed to hsiang-ting 鄉丁 in 1932.

There have been only two changes in the chia-ti in the 22 years. One man held the office for the first three years, his successor for 13 years. When he retired, his son was appointed in his stead. One man held the village clerkship for the first 14 years, his successor for the last eight.

The wages of the chia-ti, during the 22 years, ranged from $14.52 to $42.00. The rate of payment was changed ten times, partly to adjust for the depreciation of the copper coinage, partly to give an increase in terms of silver. There were two decreases, one of 5,940 cash in 1913, when the new incumbent was appointed, the other of 4,270 cash in 1921. The yearly wage was below $20 until 1916. It was not over $25 until 1924, when it was $31.87. The rate was set at $42 in 1926 and was unchanged for the next five years. The increase over the 22 years was 178 percent. From 1910 to 1924, the increase was 110 percent. The cost of living index in Peiping rose, during the same time, only 40 percent.[5]

The wages of the village clerk ranged from $6.25 to $20.00. There were seven changes in the rate. In 1921, it was decreased from 43,000 cash, $14.33, to 25,000 cash, $7.81, a cut of some 45 percent. The wages of the chia-ti were reduced the same year but only some 6 percent. The accounts do not give any reason for the reduction. When the new clerk was appointed in 1924, the wages jumped from 25,000 cash, $6.25, to 82,170 cash, $17.86. The rate was set at $20 in 1926. Over the 22 years the increase was 108 percent. Evidently both the chia-ti and the village clerk gave only part-time to their village duties.

For three years, beginning in 1913, the village paid a wage of 15,000 cash a year to the man who had been given, by the hsien

[5] MENG and GAMBLE, Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking, *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, July 1926.

government, the official land measure. In 1913, he was also paid an additional subsidy of 8,000 cash. After 1915, he was dropped from the village payroll as the village had, by lawsuit, secured control of the official measure and had made land measurement one of the duties of the chia-ti. The fees for measurement were one of the large sources of village income.

Another group of individuals received occasional payments from the village. These were men who acted as middle men, or agents, in connection with the sale of land. The field report states that a commission of from 1 to 2 percent was regularly paid in connection with the sale of land and that this had been taken over by the village in 1909 as a source of village revenue. Two years later, the village worked out a compromise with those who previously had been receiving this commission and for the next ten years paid them a part of the amount received. The payment to the agents was discontinued after 1920, as the village gave up its charge on the transfer of land. The total paid the agents was generally a small amount. The average was only $22.31 a year. For more than half the years from 1911 to 1920, the amount was less than $20 per year. It was $48.92 in 1913 and $42.00 in 1919. Both these years the village received specially large amounts from land transfers. The records do not show that the village paid the middle men a definite proportion of its income from land transfers.

The expenses of the village school varied from $78.81 to $754.93 per year. From 1910 through 1915, the amount was approximately $100 per year if the $72.00 paid in 1910 for six year's rent is pro rated. From 1916 through 1921, the cost was between $125 and $155. In 1918, the school was closed because of the flood the previous fall, but the village had to pay $15 for the rent of the school-house. From 1926 through 1931, the amount was over $215 every year and for two years was over $320.

The years from 1922 through 1925 are atypical for in 1922 and 1923, the village paid 1,100,000 cash, $293.82, for a site for a school building. In 1924, they paid 2,493,136 cash, $542, for a new building. New equipment costing 320,950 cash, $51.77 was purchased in 1925.

Before 1922, the rent for the school building was 30,000 cash,

$12.00 a year, from 1910 through 1915 and then 45,000 cash, $15.00 from 1916 through 1922. In 1913, $9.82 was paid for the repair of the rented school buildings.

The salary of the teacher varied from $32.00 in 1910 to $180 in 1930. It was $165 in 1931. The report shows that there were twelve different head teachers in 22 years. Part-time teachers were engaged for three years, 1912, 1913 and 1915, but the school was usually a one-teacher school. With the many changes of personnel and the decrease in the value of the cash, the teacher's salary was changed almost every year. There were 16 changes out of a possible 20. Five of the changes were reductions.

In 1931, the village re-engaged the same teacher it had in 1916–19. His 1916 salary was 180,320 cash, $61.12. In 1931, it was $165, an increase of 170 percent. During the same period, wholesale prices in North China increased only 6.5 percent.[6]

There were many miscellaneous school expenses, but they were of such variety and number that no attempt was made to study them. The one miscellaneous item for which we have detailed figures was the amount paid the water carrier for bringing water to the school building. In 1921, this was 15,980 cash, $5. It was $10 in 1924 and $13 in 1929 and 1930. About two-thirds of this item was met by the water fee charged the pupils in addition to their tuition. In 1925, the charge was 10 cents. It was doubled in 1926. The annual total spent for miscellaneous school expenditures ranged from $29.20 in 1910 to $189.40 in 1928.

If the rental or purchase cost of the school building is omitted, the other school expenses show three distinct periods; first, from 1910 through 1915 when the expense was less than $90 a year and the average $79, second, from 1916 through 1922 with an average of $115 and third, from 1923 through 1931 when the expenditure was over $200 per year and the average $265. Only in 1927 and 1928 was the total over $300. Then it was $324.74 and $349.40.

Crop watching was not regularly one of the functions of the village administration of Hsin Chuang. Our investigators reported that because the cotton crop had to be carefully watched by the

[6] Nankai Institute of Economics, Economic Indices, *Nankai Quarterly* 9, No. 2, 1936.

individual families, the village did not attempt the common watching of the crops that is carried on by other villages in adjacent areas. However, in 1918, when the village had a very large harvest following the floods of 1917, four watchmen were engaged at a wage of 13,000 cash, $4.35, each for the spring season. In the fall the same watchmen were paid 24,000 cash, $8 each. Crop watchmen were not engaged again until 1929. Then, six men were paid $3.95 each to help protect the crops in the fields. According to the regulations adopted in 1932, the protection of the crops was to be one of the functions of the home guard, but apparently they were not made responsible for any losses.

The night watch has long been a function of the village government, and men have been employed to patrol the village and with gong and rattle warn the thieves and the villagers. Usually the watch was maintained during the last three months of the Chinese calendar year, but some years it was continued for two months in the early spring. Hsin Chuang ordinarily hired three watchmen, one for each of the three sections of the village, east, middle and west. In 1911, the time of the revolution, seven watchmen were employed. Four were paid 4,800 cash each and three received 3,200 cash each, a total of 28,800 cash or $11.08. The next year, the total was $12 or $4 for each section of the village. For the next ten years, the amount was 45,000 cash per year. Because of the decrease in the value of the cash, the silver equivalent dropped from $17.31 to $13.23. In 1923 and 1924, the total was $12, or $4 for each section. The next year, the rate was set at $15 for each section, an increase of 275 percent, but only one person, the watchman for the middle section, received that amount. The other two were paid $14 each, or a total of $43.

In 1926, the total was $76.36, almost double the total for the previous year. The rates for the winter watching remained the same, $15, for the middle section and $14 each for the others. The total was increased because the watchmen were continued for an extra two months in the spring. For that time, the wage was $10.85 per man for the east and middle sections and $11.60 for the west section.

The spring watching was continued in 1927 and 1928. Ten

dollars were paid for one section and $9.32 for the others. This was a drop of some 14 percent. The winter rate remained the same, $15 per section. In 1928, three persons were paid $11 each for the spring season and four persons were paid $12 each for the winter season. In 1929, the night watch was combined with the other duties of the local guard. However, in 1931, two men were engaged for a short time to do extra night watching. They were paid a total of $5.

From 1910 to 1928, the amount spent for the winter night watching increased 290 percent. All of the increase came after 1924 as the total for that year was $12, or 40 cents less than the amount for 1910. In 1928, the total for the winter season was $48.

In 1932, the village took over the watching of the water wheels and allocated the income received from that source to the home guard. However, the regulations adopted at that time particularly state that the village is to be responsible for, presumably meet from other income, the expenses of the night watch.

In 1926, the old system of home guards, long used during times of disturbance and emergency, was revived by order of the Central Government. The village guard was under the supervision of the hsien government, but the head man of the village was head of the local guard and the expenses were met from village funds. In six years, the total expenditure for the guard was $1,115.32. The maximum for one year was $280.23 in 1929. This included the amount for wages, arms, uniforms and supplies. In 1929, the duties of the home guard and the night watchmen were combined. That year six men were engaged to patrol the village day and night. Their wages were $12 each, the same as that for the night watchmen the year before. The field report states that the guards were not expected to serve for the whole year but only for the winter months "when there was need for armed protection." The next year the men were paid $16 each. In 1931, they received $20 each. In 1929, $202.24 was spent for arms and uniforms. In 1931, the amount for supplies and general expenses was $154.42.

Expenditures for supplies and services for the army did not amount to any large sum in the Hsin Chuang accounts until 1924. Before that time, there had been some small expenditures

connected with the enlistment of men for the army. The total was $3.38 in 1921 and $13.38 in 1922. In 1924, when Wu P'ei Fu and Chang Tso Lin started fighting, the armies called on the countryside for men, supplies, transportation and money. Their demands generally were transmitted by the hsien government to the villages. The cost of the village quota was met from village funds, but we are not sure that they always paid full value for services, et cetera. As there was more or less military activity in the Peiping area through 1931, the demands of the military continued and Hsin Chuang contributed every year except 1927. The amount ranged from $116.22 in 1924 to $797.54 in 1931. In 1925, the military item was 63 percent and in 1931, it was 54 percent of the year's expenditure.

The combined expenses for the home guard and the army during the years from 1924 to 1931 ranged from 30 to 73 percent of the year's expenditure. A heavy burden is put on the people of the countryside when there is fighting in or near an area. In 1931, the cost to the village of the demands of the military amounted to $4.40 per family.

Occasionally the army paid for some of the services or supplies given by the village but usually there was little return for the expenses met by the village. In 1930, the army paid $12.60 rent for wagons, but other demands cost the village $422.49. And it must be remembered that the village expenditure may not have been the entire cost to the community. The village people may well have had individual loss and expense when there was fighting in the immediate area or the armies were moving to or from the battlefield as in 1925 and 1931.

Miscellaneous, in the village accounts, ordinarily included a considerable list of items, but the individual amounts usually were small and did not appear with sufficient regularity to make it worth while to attempt an analysis of them. The yearly total for all of them together ranged from $3.06 to $285.55. For nine years, it was over $100 and over $200 for four years.

One item, the village play is of special interest. Four times during the 25 years, in 1910, 1914, 1922 and 1923, the village raised money by special subscription or assessment, hired a troupe

of actors and gave a play to thank the gods for their help and to entertain the villagers after the farm work was finished for the year. The 1923 accounts give the dates as the last days of the ninth month, about the end of October. We have not been able to discover the reason why the plays were given in those four special years. The residents of the neighboring villages came for the celebration for the account books of one of the plays listed the names of six nearby villages and then said "all come to pay homage." These villages may have taken turns in giving plays other years, but it is not certain.

The village account books show that the funds for the plays were raised by general assessment on the land owning families in the same way that the land assessment money was raised every year. The spring registration books were not used. Special ones were made out for the play. The number of families and the amount of land registered for the plays differed slightly from the figures given by the regular registration books. In 1910, five less families registered for the play than for the land assessment. The amount of land was 83 mu less than the 1910 total but 7 mu more than the 1911 total. In 1923, there were two more families but nine less mu.

The assessment for the play was 60 cash per mu in 1910, 140 cash in 1922 and 200 cash in 1923. The rate for 1914 is not known as the play account books were missing. If there was a surplus, it was kept by the village Public Bureau; if there was a deficit, it was met from other village funds. In 1910 and in 1923, there was a surplus, $15.37 in 1910 and $42.34 in 1923. These have been entered as Miscellaneous Income in Table VI. The deficits were $95.61 in 1914 and $29.22 in 1922. They are part of the Miscellaneous expense for those years (Table VII). As the play was a special project financed by a special assessment, only the net surplus or deficit was entered in the regular accounts.

In 1922, the actors were paid 347,200 cash, $102.12. Another 358,588 cash, $105.44, spent for the other expenses of the play, made the total 705,785 cash or $207.56. The next year, the total expense was almost the same, 739,314 cash, $184.83; although slightly higher in cash, it was less in dollars as the exchange rate

had gone up from 3,400 to 4,000. The actors were paid 300,000 cash, $75. The 1923 accounts listed 60 different items of expense. The majority of these were for food for the players and the village leaders who were responsible for the details. The field report says a small amount was for miscellaneous expenses such as the erection of a platform, the invitation of the players, et cetera.

The income account for 1923 gives the names of all the village leaders who helped with the celebration by giving free service or by advancing money.

Knowing something of the financial problems that must be faced by some of the village families, it is striking to note that generally all of them paid the special assessment for the play. The 1923 accounts showed receipts that corresponded exactly with the number of mu registered and the charge of 200 cash per mu. In 1910, the receipt book showed an over-payment by two families and an under-payment of 300 cash by one family. The total receipts were 400 cash more than the expected amount. The regular land assessment also seems to have been paid in full. The 1910 accounts showed the payment of 100 percent of the land money due for that year and 5.8 percent of the amount due for 1909 (Table IV). In 1930, the reported collection of land money was 100 percent of the amount due (Table V). Face, official and social pressure have apparently combined to produce a situation where all the families pay their land assessments. We have not been able to determine what action the village can take in case of continued non-payment of land assessments. A Chinese, when asked what the gilds did to a man who refused to join, said, "But, you see, they always join." Perhaps the same can be said of the payment of the village land assessment.

In 1932, the year after our account study ended, the village evidently felt the need for additional service from the home guard and additional funds to finance it. Earlier the village had taken over the agents' commission on land sales and the fees for land measuring. This time it took over the watching of the water wheels that previously had been in private hands. The income thus secured was applied to the expenses of the home guards.

In return they were made responsible for the protection of the water wheels and for the payment for any losses through theft. The added income amounted to $210, the charge being $3 per wheel per year. The records, unfortunately, do not show what, if any, adjustment the village made with the individual who had been watching the water wheels. The following are the regulations adopted by the village government on the first day of the second month of 1932:

1. The finances of the Association (Branch Association of Local Guards) are to be obtained from the special fund received for the protection of the water wheels. The village government is to pay the expenses of night watching. If too much loss indemnity is to be paid, the village will have to provide the funds.
2. The Association employs four village guards.
3. The wage of each guard is seven dollars per month. The one who also keeps the accounts of the Association receives eight dollars. The guards have to pay for both their light and their food when they are on duty. The Association, however, will give them a food subsidy of two dollars a month.
4. Anyone who desires to become a guard must secure a guarantor who will be responsible in case the guard loses his rifle and for payment of indemnity for losses.
5. The guards of the Association are paid at the end of each month. There will be no advance or delay in the payment of their wages.
6. The owner of each water wheel pays three dollars for the service of protection. One dollar will be paid for the loss of one water dipper, four dollars for one water winnow (?). If other parts are lost, the compensation will be decided by the village officers.
7. If the offenders are fined, the sum received will be divided equally between the guards and the Association. In return, they have to share any loss of the water wheels.

8. All the water wheels which were protected last year must be under the joint protection this year. If the owner deceives the Association by demanding more than the real loss, he will be fined from one to ten times the original demand.
9. The water-wheel protection money is paid in two instalments, half to be paid between the first and the fifteenth of the third month, and the other half to be paid between the first and the fifteenth of the eighth month.
10. The responsibilities of the guards are to protect water wheels, to protect green crops, to patrol the village road, and to be responsible for the peace and safety of the village.
11. The guards must obey the regulations of the Association. They must not squeeze public money, gamble, drink or sleep outside at night. Leave of absence must be secured from the head of the Association. Anyone who violates the above rules will be punished accordingly.
12. A bonus of 50 cents each will be given to the guards at the end of each month if they have performed their duties well.
13. The village head is at the same time the chief of the local guards.

TABLE I

Year	Land Owners	Land Area	Assessment Per Mu		Exchange Rate
			Cash	Dollars	
1907	...	3,650.5	60	$ .027	2,200
1908	...	3,590.5	80	.036	2,200
1909	...	3,586.5	30	.013	2,400
1910	134	3,678.5	100	.040	2,500
			60[7]	.024	
1911	140	3,752.4	60	.023	2,600
1912	...	3,751.4	40	.015	2,700
1913	141	3,988.8	10	.004	2,600
1914	136	4,208.3	60	.021	2,800
			...[7]		
1915	136	4,263.3	60	.019	3,100
1916	135	4,244.5	50	.017	2,950
1917	134	4,246.5	None	None	3,000
1918	144	4,229.3	8[8]	.003[8]	3,000
			30	.010	
1919	134	4,221.4	40	.013	3,000
1920	147	4,321.9	20	.007	3,000
1921	153	4,362.0	40	.013	3,200
1922	151	4,295.8	10	.003	3,400
			140[7]	.041	
1923	154	4,494.5	40	.010	4,000
			200[7]	.050	
1924	155	4,449.1	...	.150	4,600
1925	158	4,501.9	...	.150	6,200
1926	164	4,512.7	...	.200	.....
1927	168	4,442.2	...	.120	.....
1928	177	4,393.4	...	.230	.....
1929	175	4,381.3	...	.150	.....
1930	173	4,335.9	...	.150	.....
1931	173	4,322.7	...	.200	.....

[7] Special Assessment for Village Play
[8] For 1917 Expense

TABLE II

Distribution of Families According to Amount of Land Owned Per Family

Amount of Land	1910	1914	1917	1919	1921	1923	1926	1931
Under 5.0 Mu..	14.2	16.9	15.7	23.1	25.5	20.1	23.2	15.0
5.0– 9.9.....	23.9	18.3	15.6	11.9	18.3	19.5	14.6	23.1
10.0–19.9.....	19.4	22.1	26.2	26.2	25.4	28.6	26.2	24.2
20.0–49.9.....	27.6	29.5	26.8	24.6	19.0	19.5	22.0	23.2
50.0–99.9.....	9.7	5.1	6.7	4.5	3.3	2.6	7.9	11.0
100 and over...	5.2	8.1	9.0	9.7	8.5	9.7	6.1	3.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Families.....	134	136	135	134	151	154	164	173

TABLE III

Distribution of Land According to Amount Owned Per Family

Amount of Land	1910	1914	1917	1919	1921	1923	1926	1931
Under 5.0 Mu..	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.9	1.9	1.7	2.2	1.5
5.0– 9.9.....	6.4	4.5	3.7	2.9	4.7	5.0	4.3	6.8
10.0–19.9.....	10.3	10.7	12.2	12.4	13.2	14.2	14.8	13.9
20.0–49.9.....	29.8	30.1	24.3	23.6	20.5	21.2	25.3	27.5
50.0–99.9.....	23.8	11.8	13.5	9.2	7.8	5.8	20.7	29.4
100 and over...	28.4	41.5	45.1	50.0	51.9	52.1	32.7	20.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Mu.....	3,678	4,208	4,246	4,221	4,362	4,494	4,512	4,323

TABLE IV

Income and Expenses—1910

Balance	$ 4.08	Political Agent	$ 15.10
Loan Repaid	1.72	Village Clerk	9.60
Land Money	147.14	Night Watchman	12.40
Land Money for Previous Year	2.60	School, Teacher	32.00
		" Rent	72.00
Commission on Land Sales and Mortgages	125.44	" Other Expenses	29.20
		Mortgage Taxes	9.76
Fee for Measuring Land	4.33	Deed Papers	1.13
Tuition	14.80	Miscellaneous	19.61
Deed Papers	5.50	Loan	44.69
Interest on Bond	5.22	Deposit	84.00
Interest on Loan	1.72	Balance	2.15
Sale of Trees	1.00		
Surplus from Play	15.97		
Contribution for School Coal	1.20		
Gain on Exchange	.92		
	$331.64		$331.64

TABLE V

Income and Expenses—1930

Balance	$ 262.10	Political Agent	$ 42.00
Deposit Returned	150.03	Clerk	20.00
Land Money	650.40	Home Guard	121.64
Land Measurement	201.56	Teacher	180.00
School Fund	153.58	School Expenses	89.22
Sealing Documents	10.79	Water Carrier	13.00
Deed Papers	5.00	Military	422.49
Stamps	3.25	Military Bond	51.45
Wagon Rent (Army)	12.60	Electric Poles	14.26
Miscellaneous	1.10	Peoples' Bank	15.00
		Miscellaneous	204.83
		Deposit	68.79
		Balance	207.73
	$1,450.41		$1,450.41

TABLE VI

Village Government Income

Year	Land Tax	Land Transfer	Land Measure	School	Mtg. Int.	Misc.	Total
1907	$ 99.56	$ 2.45	$	$	$	$ 25.19	$ 127.20
1908	130.10	.03	....	....	....	16.17	146.30
1909	45.18	67.57	....	....	....	26.30	139.05
1910	147.14	125.44	....	14.80	....	38.48	325.86
1911	86.61	76.90	....	17.88	....	33.49	214.88
1912	55.58	63.47	39.50	18.50	....	37.00	214.05
1913	15.32	193.08	224.74	33.46	56.54	23.11	546.25
1914	91.03	95.34	75.38	35.98	61.07	41.56	400.36
1915	82.52	47.07	35.56	29.03	43.06	22.82	260.06
1916	72.19	95.31	9.32	35.25	70.14	59.04	341.25
1917	.10	56.14	14.25	19.65	28.50	7.66	126.30
1918	53.62	68.62	3.55	....	74.60	29.31	229.70
1919	56.17	84.10	118.85	40.74	40.80	27.33	367.99
1920	28.82	35.22	47.74	47.55	42.70	8.95	210.98
1921	54.82	....	150.84	48.32	34.74	....	288.72
1922	12.82	....	116.60	53.00	....	32.53	214.95
1923	44.94	....	299.46	24.90	3.30	184.54	557.14
1924	674.86	....	107.70	47.55	....	134.08	964.19
1925	675.28	....	128.23	106.50	....	153.80	1,063.81
		Seal—					
1926	902.54	3.34	187.38	137.26	....	69.83	1,300.35
1927	533.06	1.20	129.97	138.61	....	9.88	812.72
1928	1,010.48	5.96	97.35	131.40	....	23.28	1,268.47
1929	657.19	16.70	258.43	154.44	....	8.94	1,095.70
1930	650.39	10.79	201.56	153.58	....	21.95	1,038.27
1931	864.54	36.86	107.80	139.50	....	206.70	1,355.40

TABLE VII

Village Government Expenses

Year	Chiati	Clerk	School	Watch-man	Agent	Mili-tary	Misc.	Total
1907	.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	$144.32
1908	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	147.57
1909	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	120.27
1910	$15.10	$ 9.60	$133.20	$12.40	$	$	$ 30.52	200.82
1911	15.38	11.54	88.22	11.08	9.20	....	100.12	235.54
1912	18.87	11.11	80.78	12.00	18.74	....	29.30	170.80
1913	17.31	15.38	92.39	17.31	48.92	....	44.85	236.16
1914	16.07	14.29	82.11	16.07	24.87	....	226.29	379.70
1915	14.52	12.90	78.81	14.52	10.77	....	110.28	241.80
1916	21.62	16.95	155.63	15.22	19.90	....	50.09	279.41
1917	24.76	14.00	127.83	15.00	14.82	....	52.38	248.79
1918	24.76	14.33	15.00	15.00	7.33	.87	116.80	194.09
1919	24.72	14.33	148.25	15.00	42.00	....	70.85	315.15
1920	24.76	14.33	133.03	15.00	26.58	....	65.11	278.81
1921	21.88	7.81	130.41	14.06	....	3.38	63.90	241.44
1922	20.59	7.35	214.19	13.23	....	13.38	50.30	319.04
1923	25.00	6.25	441.70	12.00	....	....	49.24	534.19
1924	31.87	17.86	754.93	12.00	....	116.22	80.30	1,013.18
1925	38.17	18.39	289.97	43.00	....	677.19	3.06	1,069.78
1926	42.00	20.00	224.65	76.36	Guard 34.52	489.80	225.20	1,112.53
1927	42.00	20.00	337.99	73.64	257.70	....	141.80	873.13
1928	42.00	20.00	363.10	81.00	146.78	120.18	109.84	882.90
1929	42.00	20.00	304.16	....	280.23	289.35	225.02	1,160.76
1930	42.00	20.00	282.22	....	121.64	422.49	285.55	1,173.90
1931	42.00	20.00	235.59	5.00	274.42	797.54	94.61	1,469.16

NOTES ON CHINESE INFLUENCES IN THE PHILIPPINES IN PRE-SPANISH TIMES

Olov R. T. Janse
Harvard University

The principal aim of this paper is to present the results of some of the excavations we carried out in the Philippines in 1940, sponsored by the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

After having brought to a close an archaeological expedition in French Indo-China,[1] I proceeded to the Philippines in December 1939, accompanied by Mrs. Janse. We started here a campaign which lasted until August 1940. Our main purpose was to complete various work on the ancient Chinese expansion towards the south by investigations concerning:

a. the presumed existence of a local Dong-son culture in the Philippines;
b. Chinese ceramics of the *early* Ming dynasty, which so far have not been found in graves in Indo-China.

Below we give a short account of our investigations.

The problem of a supposed Dong-son culture in the Philippines

This problem was raised in 1935 by Mr. Othley Beyer (Manila) in a notice published the same year in the *Philippine Magazine* 33.482 seq. It is stated in this notice that three bronze celts have been found in the province of Batangas, Luzon Island.[2] I have had an opportunity to examine these pieces, which, according to Mr. Beyer, come from the following localities: Sitio Dalipit

[1] Cf. O. Janse, An Archaeological Expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines, *HJAS* 6, quoted here Janse in *HJAS* 6. Id., *Archaeological Research in Indo-China. Vol. I, The Ancient District of Kieu-tchen*, Cambridge, Mass., 1943.

[2] Cf. O. Janse in *HJAS* 6.258. Concerning the Dong-son culture and its implications, vide O. Janse, *Archaeological Research in Indo-China. Vol. I, The Ancient District of Kieu-tchen*; id., Rapport préliminaire d'une mission archéologique en Indochine, *RAA* 9. 144-153, 209-217; 10. 42-52; id., *The Illustrated London News*, December 28, 1935.

(behind the Municipal Building); Mulasvin, near Ilat; Mozon; San Filippi, near Cuenca. The celts, now in the collection of Mr. BEYER, are reminiscent of types found in Indo-China and southwestern China (cf. our article "Un groupe de bronzes propres à l'Extrême Asie méridionale," in *BMFEA* 3. pl. 5: 7, 12, 7: 4, and 8, 1-11. Similar implements were in use in China and in Indo-China during the Han dynasty. The finding of the same class of objects in the soil of the Philippines would give a hint as to cultural connections with the Chinese dominated mainland about 2000 years ago. Consequently, a methodically conducted investigation regarding the circumstances under which these implements had been found seemed worth while. According to Mr. BEYER, he had not excavated the above objects himself, but acquired them from one of his Philippine purchasing agents named ESTEBAN. The latter said he had bought the items from various persons, the names of whom he had forgotten. I proposed to Mr. BEYER that he start systematic excavations with me in the various above-mentioned localities. We both visited them together, planning to make at least some test trenches. However, as he was unable to join me at this time, I started an investigation myself, actively supported by the local authorities.

During several days in January 1940 we opened numerous test trenches in the places where the implements in question were said to have been found, but no traces whatsoever of a dwelling site or a tomb could be revealed. Inquiries made among the inhabitants through the intermediary of the local authorities gave only negative results. No one was able to give any reliable information as to findings of bronzes made in these regions. Under these circumstances it seems wise not to build up any theory, on the basis of the supposed findings of the three bronze celts, of contacts between the region of the Gulf of Tonkin and Luzon in Han times. It is not impossible, however, that further investigations will bring results which might modify our standpoint.

FINDINGS OF EARLY MING CERAMICS

Due to the fact that ceramics, as a rule, were not buried with the dead in Chinese dominated countries at the beginning of the Ming dynasty (14th and 15th centuries), and that they were not

yet exported to Europe, only a few specimens from that period have been preserved until modern times. For periods posterior to the Ming, the tombs have been, and are still, the main source of our knowledge of the Chinese ceramics, as well as other antiquities. Until then the funerary rites had been almost luxurious and very expensive. Thus, numerous valuable objects, such as ceramics, were given to the dead. The first Ming emperor, Hung-wu, however, reacted vigorously against this waste of earlier days and recommended the use for burials of cheaper objects, such as wooden vessels instead of porcelain.

The Ming porcelain, especially from the 14th and 15th centuries, is probably the least known of all later Chinese wares. Until recently our knowledge of this ceramic came chiefly from illustrations and descriptions in ancient Chinese catalogues. The blue and white wares of that time present, as a rule, a pencilled or brush-painted type of design, quite different from the heavily outlined drawings typical of the succeeding periods, which are quite well represented in American and European collections.

Recent findings made in the Philippines and the East Indies have contributed to filling this gap in our knowledge regarding the early Ming ceramics. As a matter of fact, the inhabitants of these islands were then in extensive trade relations with southern China and consequently numerous pieces of the hitherto little known blue and white porcelain found their way over the Pacific. As the inhabitants of all these islands were in no way bound by the recommendations of the Chinese emperors, they could give to the deceased for their convenience in the life beyond porcelain instead of wooden vessels. A certain number of these vessels have been brought to light in recent years. Unfortunately, however, most of them have been excavated without scientific control.[3] It is possible that the ceramics were partly imported directly to the Philippines from southern China. It can, however, also be assumed that they arrived through the intermediary of Muslim or Moro traders established further south, in the East Indies, who probably for a long time had been in close contact with the Chinese.

[3] Only a few methodically conducted excavations, among which may be mentioned here those conducted by Dr. Carl E. Guthe, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

During the Ming dynasty, porcelain was highly appreciated almost everywhere in the Far East. It was not only the pleasant shape, but also the sober and beautiful decoration which made this ware so attractive. Furthermore, it was generally believed that Chinese porcelain had the property of "destroying poison in the food." As a matter of fact, it is obvious that porcelain, used for serving food or as food containers, is much more hygienic than wooden vessels or the porous, unglazed earthenwares. Especially in a hot and damp climate, the latter household utensils, even after having been washed, contain rapidly decaying matter, a factor which often caused infections and diseases. It is now known that the use in Europe of porcelain instead of wooden and unglazed earthenware vessels, has been a contributory factor in reducing mortality.

Our excavations in the Philippines brought to light, especially on the grave field of Pinagpatayan, Luzon (cf. infra p. 43), a certain number of white and blue wares, which well may belong to the 15th century. Some glazed ceramics may perhaps have been imported from the kilns of Savankhalok in Siam, which were founded by Chinese ceramists in 1350.[4] In addition, we found some bowls and dishes similar to pieces of the Sung period previously excavated in Tonkin and northern Annam.[5]

During our sojourn in the Philippines, we travelled extensively over the archipelago to investigate the possibilities of discovering tombs containing early Ming wares. Finally, circumstances placed us in a position to excavate three grave fields on the estate of Calatagan, province of Batangas, island of Luzon.

We opened here about 60 tombs, several containing numerous Ming ceramics and other objects (cf. infra p. 38 sqs.). The products of our excavations were shipped to the United States

[4] Walter Robb, New Data on Chinese and Siamese Ceramic Wares of the 14th and 15th Centuries, *Philippine Magazine* 17, Nos. 3 and 4 (August and September, 1930). Concerning the kilns of Săvănk'ălòk, vide J. Y. Claeys, L'archéologie du Siam, *BEFEO* 31. 412, note 1; W. A. Graham, Pottery in Siam, *Journal of the Siam Society* 19. 63; T. H. Lyle, Notes on the Ancient Pottery Kilns at Savankalok, *Journal of the Anthrop. Inst.* 33.

[5] Concerning our excavations of Sung ceramics in Indo-China, vide O. Janse, Rapport préliminaire d'une mission archéologique en Indochine, *RAA* 9, 3-4; 10, 1, p. [24] sqs.

at the end of 1940, not without great difficulties. Most of the findings have been placed on display in the Fogg Art Museum (1941), the Peabody Museum of Harvard University (1942-43) and the Library of the Harvard-Yenching Institute (1942-43). The skeletal material and parts of the native red pottery have been deposited in St. Thomas University of Manila. Some duplicates of the Chinese ceramics were incorporated with the Zobel collection (Manila).

If our expedition has been successful, it is largely due to the active support given to us by the American High Commissioner of the Philippines, Mr. Francis B. SAYRE, and His Excellency Mr. Manuel QUEZON, President of the Commonwealth. I wish to express to them my deepest gratitude for the interest they have shown in our work. I am also deeply indebted to the following persons, who have so kindly and generously furthered our research in various ways. M. WILLOQUET, French Consul at Manila, Mrs. Berthe Lévy HERMANOS, Mr. Maxime Lévy HERMANOS, former president of the French Chamber of Commerce (Manila), Messrs. Enrique and Jacobo ZOBEL, owners of the estate of Calatagan, and Mr. Antonio PERTIERRA, manager of the estate.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE ESTATE OF CALATAGAN (BATANGAS PROVINCE) LUZON

On this estate, about 150 miles south of Manila, we excavated three grave fields: Pinagpatayan, Pulong Bacao and Kay Tomas, the first of them being the most interesting.

The necropolis of Pinagpatayan is located on a small, flat hill (Pl. 1, Pl. 3, 1), a few miles east of the clubhouse of the estate of Calatagan. The place, which has been cultivated for many years, overlooks the sea opposite the islands of Lubang and Mindoro. To the north are the mountains of Bimbusan. The native (Malayan) name of this place, Pinagpatayan, means field of massacres.

East of the hill is a vast plain where the owners of the estate, Messrs. Enrique and Jacobo ZOBEL, started work a few years ago to establish an airfield. On this occasion several ceramics of Sung

and Ming types were accidentally brought to light. Thanks to the interest and courtesy of Messrs. ZOBEL, these objects were deposited as a gift in the National Museum at Manila.[6]

My attention had been drawn to these findings, and as I assumed that further investigations on this locality would possibly bring to light various remains from the early Ming period, I suggested to Messrs. Enrique and Jacobo ZOBEL that the place be methodically excavated. They kindly agreed to have the investigations carried out, and subsequently arrangements were made to start excavations.

After a preliminary visit to this place, I started the excavations on February 15 in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Jacobo ZOBEL and Mr. Antonio PERTIERRA, manager of the estate. Our work here continued until the beginning of May 1940.

As I often had noticed that ancient graveyards were located on the top and slopes of small flat hills, I assumed it was the case here also. We therefore started our excavations on the highest point, and after the first few shovelfuls of earth, one of our workmen touched a group of small pots placed a few decimeters below the surface. At the bottom of one of the vessels was adhering a human bone. It then became obvious that we had located a tomb. We now switched from picks and shovels to knives and brushes in order not to damage other eventual objects deposited in the grave (Pl. 3, 2; 4, 2).

We subsequently discovered here not less than 27 tombs (see Pl. 17), a detailed description of which is given infra p. 43.

The graves containing skeletons lying on the back and the deposits were located at a depth of only a few decimeters below the surface. There is no trace of a mound. Though some of the skeletons had been placed on rugged limestone ground (tomb 1 and 2), there are no stones placed around the dead. At Pinagpatayan most of the dead are buried with the head to the north. There are, however, a few exceptions (Pl. 17).

The skeletons were studied on the spot by Dr. Gerardo MANAS.

[6] A notice on incidental finds, especially of Ming ceramics from Calatagan, has been published by Dr. J. P. BANTUG (Manila), Tesoros Arqueológicos de Calatagan, *Excelsior*, anno 30, (March 1934).

According to his observations, the dead were all of Malayan stock.[7]

The deposits consist mainly of Chinese ceramics, such as *bowls, dishes, jarlets,* a few *jars.* In addition, there are some red, unglazed wares of native make (Pl. 13, 1-3, 5) and a few other items, such as *bracelets* of a substance reminiscent of glass paste, and various pottery *spindle whorls.* One single tomb (No. 14) contained an iron dagger (Pl. 6, 6).

It is noteworthy that the ceramics are placed over and around the body, principally behind the head, at the feet, and over the abdomen and the pubic region. As a rule the dishes and bowls discovered at the latter part were placed upside down (Pl. 4, 1; 8, 1, 2; 9, 2). One tomb contained the skeletal remains of a small child, heaped together (as if the body had once been mutilated) and covered by an inverted bowl, originally covered by a larger pot of native, red ware.

This custom of placing bowls intentionally upside down over a buried person is quite widespread and occurs, e. g., in Chinese and Annamite tombs in northern Annam as early as the Han dynasty.[8] In the tombs from the Sung dynasty there are generally two or three jars placed close to one another behind the head (?), and at a small distance from these vessels is a small group of inverted, unglazed bowls (Pl. 14, 4).[9] In the destructive soil of Indo-China skeletal remains have not been preserved as a rule. It is, however, possible to judge from their position in the tomb, that these bowls were placed also over the abdomen or the pubic region. This custom of placing the vessels upside down was perhaps connected with the idea of confining the soul of the dead to the tomb. It must be remembered that in China, e. g., it is customary to place a bowl upside down on the soil to keep the child

[7] When I left the Philippines in August 1940, Dr. MANAS was still working on this material and prepared a report, which, however, did not reach us before the outbreak of the war.

[8] O. JANSE, *Archaeological Research in Indo-China. Vol. I, The Ancient District of Kieu-tchen,* Pl. 116, 1.

[9] Concerning the Sung tombs we have excavated in Indo-China, vide O. JANSE, Rapport préliminaire d'une mission archéologique en Indochine, V, *RAA* 9, 3-4; 10, 1, p. [24] sqs. Cf. also JANSE, in *HJAS* 6.255.

from running away, as pointed out by H. Doré (*Manuel des superstitions chinoises*, p. 21), the so-called Wan-eul or Koan-eul ceremony.[10] There may also be other symbolic meanings attached to the custom of placing reversed bowls, one above another. Thus, in Annam, it is customary that after the wedding ceremony, the married couple drink simultaneously rice alcohol from two cups, expressing all kinds of wishes of happiness and prosperity. When the cups are completely emptied, they are placed inverted, one above the other, as a sign that the two people now belong one to another. (Cf. E. Teston and M. Percheron, *L'Indochine*, Paris 1931, p. 355.)

In between the tombs we found a few items such as *beads*, a *stone pestle*, etc.

As mentioned previously, several of the ceramics found at Pinagpatayan seem to belong to the early Ming period, probably the 15th century. In some instances the blue and white porcelain is found together with ceramic products which are closely related to the Sung ware.

On the promontories of Pulong Bacao and Kay Tomas, a few miles from Pinagpatayan, we discovered two other grave fields, which also have yielded numerous Ming ceramics and other objects (Pl. 8 sqs.). At Pulong Bacao we excavated 6 tombs and at Kay Tomas 31. In between the tombs on both localities we uncovered several *ceramics*, *stone implements* and *beads* (Pl. 7 sqs.). The tombs here present the same characteristics as those at Pinagpatayan, though they partly seem to be of a somewhat later date (middle and late Ming).

Concerning these grave fields only a few characteristics may be mentioned here.

One tomb (No. 21 of Kay Tomas) contained a skull placed in

[10] "Au temps de la naissance, on renverse un pot l'orifice en bas, et on l'applique sur le sol, comme pour y enfermer l'enfant et l'empêcher de quitter la maison. On le nomme: 'Enfant du pot.'" Concerning mutilation of the body of dead children in China, Father H. Doré writes (*Op. cit.* 21): "Quand plusieurs enfants sont morts successivement, il arrive quelquefois que des parents dénaturés mutilent affreusement le petit cadavre pour effrayer l'âme et l'empêcher de revenir dans les enfants qui naitront plus tard." Cf. also id., *Recherches* 2. 328.

a bowl. We have noticed a similar arrangement in a Han tomb in Indo-China (Lach-truong No. 16).[11]

The skeleton of tomb No. 26 at Kay Tomas (Pl. 9, 3; Fig. 2) had at the feet two human skulls, probably the product of head-hunting.

In another tomb, No. 29, (Kay Tomas), we found behind the head a circular small greyish *stone*, provided in the center on each of the two principal faces with a circular depression.[12] The natives who attended the excavations qualified this stone as a *mortar*, used to pound areca nuts with a stone pestle (probably of the type we found at Pinagpatayan). Similar objects have been found in Indo-China, where they have been classified as belonging to the stone age.[13]

The *teeth* of a skeleton (tomb No. 13, Kay Tomas, Pl. 12, 2) were inlaid with small gold plugs. This custom of mutilating the teeth is widespread over Malaysia.[14]

Between the tombs we found, as mentioned, various objects, such as *ceramics* (e. g., Pl. 12, 1, 3), *stone axes* (Pl. 12, 7, 9), etc. The circular bottoms of various vases had been intentionally chipped to serve as children's disks (Pl. 12, 3).

The coast of this part of Luzon presents many small promontories (Pl. 1). It is possible that the creeks between them had been used in early days as natural sheltered harbors and that the people had lived here on pile dwellings stretching out over the shallow waters, as is still customary in the southern islands of the Philippines (Pl. 15, 1, 2). In several places the tombs of the departed ancestors are dug close to these villages.

[11] O. JANSE, *Archaeological Research in Indo-China. Vol. I, The Ancient District of Kieu-tchen*, Pl. 34, 1, 2; 37, 1.

[12] Close to this skeleton (of an adult) we noticed, at the left side, remains of the skeletons of two small children.

[13] Madeleine COLANI, Notice sur la préhistoire du Tonkin, *Bulletin du Service Géologique de l'Indochine* 17, fasc. 1, Pl. 1, 2, 15.

[14] The teeth were partly filed. One of the teeth possibly showed traces of a black "varnish." Even in modern times it has been customary among young girls in some remote parts of the Philippines, as, for example, in the Visayan Island, to put similar gold plugs in their teeth, considered as a sign of beauty. According to information given by Mr. Antonio PERTIERRA (Calatagan), it is still a custom in the Philippines for old persons to rub their teeth with the betel nut cover to give them a black polish.

As the necropolis of Pinagpatayan (Pl. 3, 1; 17) presents the greatest interest, I will concern myself here with a detailed description of the tombs and the deposits of this locality.

Tomb No. 1

At a depth of 0m40 was found a skeleton, placed on the back on a rocky limestone ground (Pl. 4, 2 and Fig. 1) and stretching north-south, having the skull to the south. The skeleton was rather well preserved and measured 1m62 in length. Immediately above the skeleton were several *ceramic objects*.

1. Small, globular *jarlet* of white porcelain (vide O. JANSE in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 30, 1) with a low ridge at the mouth. Slightly incurved, unglazed bottom. The glaze is crackled. On the body between two double rows of horizontal light blue lines is seen a complicated design composed of curved lines, partly violet, partly blue or almost black. This design is probably to be considered as a conventionalized floral pattern. Damaged and repaired. Height: 0m056.

2. Glazed *bowl* (about half of it is preserved) of the same shape and decoration as the one reproduced (Pl. 10, 4). Outside is a conventionalized lotus pattern in low relief. At the bottom is a disk-shaped base. Light yellowish ware. Height: 0m06.

3a. Small *dish* or *saucer* (Pl. 3, 2) (to the left, close to Nos. 1 and 2), covered with light green glaze. The rim is slightly flaring. The bottom, which is unglazed, is provided with a circular base with partly sharpened edge. Inside near the center is an ornamental motif in low relief, probably a conventionalized flower, at present rather difficult to distinguish. A part of the rim is broken. Height: 0m034.

3b. Pottery *spindle whorl* of red ware, almost hemispherical, with slightly convex bottom. Height: 0m020.

Pieces 1–3a, b were found at the feet of the skeleton. The spindle whorl was placed under the saucer 3a.

4. White glazed, "whole bottom" *bowl* of the same type as the one reproduced here (Pl. 5, 6). Inside, under the glaze, is a decoration in blue along the rim suggesting seaweed, and in the

center traces of a goldfish in overglaze, red enamelled slip. The eye is white with a black pupil; around the "hole bottom" is an unglazed yellow zone. Diam: 0m124.

The shape of the "hole bottom" is represented by Pl. 31, 2 in our article "An Archaeological Expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines" in *HJAS* 6.

The dish is broken and repaired. One rather large fragment was found a few centimeters from the main part. The dish was found with the bottom turned up and was located about 0m010 higher than the other ceramics. The dish may have been used as a cover for a vase of wood or another easily destructible matter, which has not been preserved.

It is possible that the circular depression was intended for fixing a (wooden?) stem and that these "hole-bottom" dishes may be compared to the contemporaneous Chinese stem cups (cf. E. HANNOVER and B. RACKHAM, *Pottery and Porcelain*, Vol. 2, London 1925, fig. 96, wine-cup of the Hsüan-tê period [1426–1435]).

The dish had been placed at the right side of the skeleton, 0m40 from dish No. 3a (Pl. 3, 2, in the center).

5. Globular, red *vase* of the same type as the one reproduced in Pl. 13, 5, with slightly outbent rim. The vase was very brittle and was found broken in many pieces, probably because of the pressure of the earth. The vase had been placed at the left side of the skeleton, 0m17 south of the dish No. 4 (Pl. 3, 2, Fig. 1). Height: approx. 0m20.

6. Almost pear-shaped earthenware *bottle* (Pl. 3, 2, to the right) with primarily milk white glaze covering the main part of the body except the bottom. The glaze has been partly destroyed. At the bottom is a circular rim. The neck is broken, but may have been low and shaped as the neck of a similar bottle, found in tomb No. 9; cf. JANSE in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 27, 3. At the shoulders are traces of two ears.

The bottle was found lying 0m15 south of pot No. 5, the mouth turned to the skull. Present height: 0m121. Possibly of Sawankhalok origin.

Tomb No. 2

Immediately southeast of tomb No. 1 we discovered another skeleton placed on the back in an elongated position, having the skull to the north. The arms were placed straight along the sides. The skulls of tombs No. 1 and 2 were distant only 0m50. Skeleton No. 2 was also found (like No. 1) on a rocky limestone ground at a depth of about 0m35. The fact that the two skeletons had been placed so close to each other may perhaps mean that the dead were man (No. 2) and wife (No. 1). It has been suggested that the opposite orientation of the skeletons could be interpreted as meaning that the man and the wife after death had to survey different directions, a precaution for a posthumous voyage.

Above the legs we found the following objects:

1. Little green glazed *jarlet* (Pl. 6, 3). At the lower part of the body are faint vertical grooves (a conventionalized lotus leaf pattern?). The neck is low and rather heavy.

The bottom is unglazed (reddish ware) and slightly incurved. Parts of the mouth and the shoulders are damaged. Height: 0m078.

The jarlet was found placed upside down above the feet.

2. Globular *vase* of red ware, similar to the vessel found in tombs No. 7, and 21 of Kay Tomas (cf. Pl. 13, 7). The vase was found above the left knee and slightly inclined. Height: approx. 0m020.

3. Apple green, glazed, rather deep *dish*. The vessel is undecorated. Inside, in the center, is an unglazed greenish grey zone; outside at the bottom an unglazed part and a circular rim. The shape is similar to the dish reproduced in Pl. 8, 3a, b. (Cf. Pl. 8, 1). Height: 0m055.

The dish was placed upside down over the legs near the pubic region.

Tomb No. 3

Skeleton in the same line as No. 1, having the skull to the north. The arms were probably slightly folded. The skeleton was in a rather bad state of preservation, especially the skull. Length of skeleton 1m47.

Behind the skull we found the following objects:

1. White glazed *bowl* with blue decoration. At the bottom a cylindrical ridge with a rather thin edge. Outside at the rim is a design composed of curved and straight strokes. Beneath is a row of pointed, elongated leaves, perhaps derived from the artemisia leaf pattern, common on Sung bowls, of the same type as seen in Pl. 28, 1 in our article "An Archaeological Expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines" in *HJAS* 6. 247-267. Concerning the symbolism of the artemisia, see C. A. S. WILLIAMS, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, Shanghai, 1932, p. 403.

Inside, below the rim, are two parallel lines. At the bottom, surrounded by two concentric lines, is a flower design suggesting a lotus (JANSE in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 28, 2). Height: 0m068.

2. An almost pear-shaped, originally eared, *bottle* of black or brownish glaze. The neck is rather low and incurved. On the shoulder are traces of two opposite handles. The lower part of the body is unglazed and reddish. The bottom is plain. The neck is slightly damaged. Height: 0m105.

The bottle was found in a horizontal position.

3. Above the feet we found a broken native *vase*, almost globular (red ware), with two outlets and belonging to a vase similar to that found in tomb No. 8 (JANSE in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 28, 5) with two spouts and two handles, each in the shape of a button.

4. A *spindle whorl* of clay, found immediately above the elbow of the right arm.

Tomb No. 4

About 2 m. north of the skull of skeleton No. 3 we discovered some bones and the remains of a small skull, probably of a child. At the place where the thorax would have been, we discovered fragments of a green glazed undecorated hemispherical *bowl*, placed upside down. Around the bowl were fragments of a large, native *pot* of red ware, which primarily might have been placed also upside down, covering the bowl.

The bones, as well as the funerary deposit, were in a very bad state of preservation, giving the impression that the body had been mutilated (cf. supra p. 40).

Tomb No. 5

Skeleton stretching north-south, with the head to the north. The arms were placed straight along the sides.

1. Almost globular native *vase* in red, unglazed ware (JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 28, 5). Low neck, slightly curved (now damaged). Along the equatorial line is a coiled ridge. The base is provided with a cylindrical ridge. On the shoulders are two small opposite spouts and two opposite, small handles, each in the shape of a knob.

On the shoulders is an incised zig-zag line. Inside the upward pointed triangles are incised dots. Height: 0m140.

The vase was found over the feet in a slightly inclined position.

2. Rather large, circular *dish* with a rather sharp footring (Pl. 4, 1, upper left part of the picture). The decoration is in blue color. Inside the bottom, surrounded by two concentric circles, are four flowers and branches with leaves. On the rim are five similar flowers connected with curved branches with leaves (Pl. 6, 4). Outside, along the rim, is a similar decoration.

The decoration may have been made at least partly with cobalt, which on some spots has spread like ink on a blotting paper. Diam.: 0m195.

The dish was found placed upside down, covering the pubic region. A similar vessel was found in tomb No. 6 (JANSE in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 32, 2). Near the tomb were found scattered in the earth several fragments of a large *dish* of similar shape and decoration. It has not been possible to repair the dish.

3. A *spindle whorl*, almost hemispherical, of red clay. The bottom is slightly convex. Spindle whorls of similar shape are reproduced in Pl. 12, 8, b, c. Height: 0m020.

The spindle whorl was found on the bottom of the inverted dish (Pl. 4, 1).

Tomb No. 6

Skeleton stretching north-south. 0m50 north of the shoulders we found a few remains of a skull, which may have belonged to this skeleton. The right arm was straight, the left arm folded.

There was no funeral deposit close to the skeleton, but at a distance of 1m20 east of the shoulders we found close to the surface a porcelain *dish* (blue and white) and fragments of a similar one.

1. Porcelain *dish*, blue and white, (JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 32, 2). At the bottom a circular ridge. Inside at the bottom are five flowers, leaves and branches. On the rim are five similar flowers, leaves and branches. Outside a similar design. Diam.: 0m191.

The vessel is similar in shape and decoration to the one reproduced here in Pl. 6, 4; cf. Pl. 4, 1.

2. Fragments of a porcelain *dish*, blue and white, of similar form and decoration as the above, but inside, the branches between the rim and the bottom are parallel to the rim, and the leaves are dispersed symmetrically. At the bottom is a large blue spot instead of a flower. (Probably the artist failed to design the flower as he wanted and then covered it by a blue spot). Diam.: 0m185.

Tomb No. 7

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north. The arms were slightly folded, the hands resting on the pubic region. Over the legs, 0m20 from the points of the feet, was placed an inverted *dish* of porcelain (1). At a distance of 0m03 from the dish was placed, between the legs, a cylindrical *cup* of native make (2) (the stand of a larger vase?).

1. Small "hole-bottom" *dish*, white and blue, similar to the one reproduced in Pl. 5, 6, or JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 31, 1. Inside on the bottom, in the center, is seen a goldfish in overglaze red-enamelled slip. The eye is white with black pupil. Around the fish are curved lines and flower-like patterns. White glaze. The "hole-bottom" is surrounded by an unglazed, yellowish paint. The rim is slightly damaged. Diam.: 0m121.

2. *Cup* of red ware, almost cylindrical, with uneven bottom (detached feet of a larger vase?). Height: 0m028.

3. Undecorated, globular *vase*, slightly depressed, with low and flaring large mouth. Red native ware. The mouth is slightly damaged. Height: 0m012.

4. Near the skeleton was a detached *spout of a vase*, probably like the vase reproduced by us in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 28, 5.

Tomb No. 8

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north. The latter was in a very bad state of preservation. There were no traces of arms, thorax, or the spinal column. It is possible that the dead body had been mutilated before burial (cf. p. 46).

Over the feet were placed an almost globular *vase* and a circular *dish*, both of red ware. The latter was found inverted over the vase, as a cover, and of the same shape as the one reproduced in Pl. 13, 2. Diam.: 0m163. The two pieces had been crushed by the pressure of the earth and could not be preserved. Presumed diam. of the vase at the equatorial line: 0m160.

A few centimeters from the feet we found, crushed in the earth, another such globular *vase* in red ware, similar to the one reproduced in Pl. 13, 7 (upper center). Supposed diam. at the equatorial line: 0m150.

Tomb No. 9

Skeleton stretching east-west with the skull to the east (facing the sea).

Behind the skull was a *bottle* (1), and above the left hand we found an almost globular *vase* of red ware (2) slightly inclined.

1. Earthenware, eared *bottle*, almost pear-shaped, with narrow and short neck (JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 27, 3). At the bottom is a ridge. The major part of the body is coated with a blackish glaze. The bottom is unglazed, light reddish, provided with a footring. The bottle is of Sawankhalok type (?), similar to the one found in tomb No. 1 (Pl. 3, 2, to the right). Height: 0m115.

2. Almost globular, undecorated, slightly depressed *vase* in red ware, with low, flaring neck. The mouth is slightly damaged. Height: 0m120.

Tomb No. 10

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north.

1. Blue and white porcelain *dish* provided with a footring

(JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 29, 2). Inside at the bottom are seen two figures, a man and wife surrounded by flowers, and two concentric lines. The man has his hair dressed like a Samurai, and around his waist are floating skirts, around the legs cloud-patterns. The wife also has floating skirts around her waist and cloud patterns around the legs. It is probable that the scene may be interpreted as the male and female star divinities (the cowherd and the spinning maiden), who meet in the heavens once a year (7th of June). The cloud patterns would indicate the sky.

Outside, the dish is decorated with curved lines, probably a conventionalized flower pattern. A dish of similar shape and decoration is reproduced in Pl. 6, 8 a, b. Diam.: 0m165.

The dish is broken and repaired.

2. Little, almost globular, earthenware *jarlet* with low, narrow neck. The main part of the bottle is covered with white glaze. The bottom is unglazed. Light red ware. A similar jarlet is reproduced by us in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 30, 1. Height: about 0m050.

3a. Red earthenware, almost globular *vase* with large, flaring mouth. Outside, the bottom is mottled and blackish (due to fire). Height: 0m118.

3b. The *cover* of the vase, very brittle, was in the shape of a small dish, provided in the center with an almost cylindrical button. Red ware. Diam.: ca. 0m105.

4. Globular *vase* of red ware, similar in shape to No. 3a. The vase was broken and very brittle; it could not be preserved.

5. Small "hole-bottom" *dish*, blue and white, similar to the one reproduced in Pl. 5, 6, with a red-enamelled goldfish in the center. The dish is broken and partly repaired. Diam.: 0m12.

Tomb No. 11

Traces of a skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north.

Close to the skull was placed a blue and white porcelain *dish*, decorated in the center with a goldfish (?) surrounded by seaweed (JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 29, 1).

Outside are conventionalized flowers connected by curved branches. Diam.: 0m182.

Tomb No. 12

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north. The skeleton was of exceptionally tall size, length 1 M 72.

Over the feet was placed an almost globular *vase* (red ware) of the same type as those from tombs No. 7, 9, and 10 (diam. of the mouth 11, 2 cm.). This vase was very brittle and could not be preserved. Immediately west of the skull was a blue and white *dish* (1) in almost vertical position. Behind the skull was placed a small white *bottle* (2).

1. Blue and white porcelain *dish*, decorated inside like the one of tomb No. 11 (Pl. 6, 5). Outside was no decoration.

The dish was found broken in many pieces. It is now repaired. Diam.: 0m164.

2. Small earthenware *bottle* with low narrow neck, covered with white glaze, except at the bottom. Reddish ware. The bottle is almost identical to the one reproduced by us in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 30, 1. Height: 0m044.

Close to the skeleton we found the bottom of a *bowl* decorated with a Chinese character, the mouthpiece of a blue and white *bowl*, and a small fragment of a bluish, glass paste *bracelet*.

Tomb No. 13

Traces of a skeleton stretching north-south.

1. "Hole-bottom" *dish*, blue and white, with a red-enamelled goldfish in the center (JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 31, 1). The shape and decoration are almost identical to the dishes 1: 4, 10, 18, etc. Diam.: 0m123.

2. Red earthenware, almost pear-shaped *bottle* (Pl. 5, 1), glazed except at the bottom. The neck is rather low. At the bottom is a low cylindrical base with an impression in the center. Height: 0m077.

3. Small white *jarlet*, almost globular, similar to those of tombs 10 and 12 of Pinagpatayan, Kay Tomas 1 (JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 30, 1), but the neck is somewhat longer. The bottom is unglazed greyish. Height: 0m068.

Scattered in the earth close to the skeleton we found three fragments of bluish glass (?) *bracelets*. Length resp.: 0m031, 0m035, 0m055.

Tomb No. 14

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north. The latter was broken (mutilated?). Close to the left knee was an iron *knife* (1), (Pl. 6, 6), the point directed to the feet. Immediately to the right of the skull was a blue and white *dish* (2) broken (Pl. 7, 1). Placed partly on the dish was a globular *vase* of red ware. The vase was broken in many parts and could not be preserved.

1. Iron *knife* or *dagger*, double-edged with tenant. The blade is slightly larger near the point than near the tenant. Length of the blade: 0m193. Length of the tenant: 0m051. Adhering to the tenant are perhaps a few traces of wood.

2. Blue and white (partly blackish) porcelain *dish* with a "waved" rim and rather sharp footring (Pl. 7, 1). Inside is a *ch'i-lin* surrounded by different symbolic signs. Below the rim is a zone filled with geometric patterns. Outside, along the mouth, are seen conventionalized leaf or flower patterns and curved lines. Diam.: 0m185.

Tomb No. 15

Traces of a skeleton stretching north-south. There was no skull. The part of the arms from the elbow to the hands was lacking. The dead had probably been beheaded and the arms cut off. Above the feet was an almost globular *vase* of red ware with two spouts and two button-shaped handles (of the same type as the one reproduced, Pl. 4, 1). This was the only funerary deposit.

The vase is similar to those found in tombs No. 3, 5 (JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 28, 5), and 27, but the rim at the equatorial line is plain. On the shoulder is an engraved, not finished, zig-zag line and at one spot between the legs of a triangle are some incised, small holes. The mouth is damaged. Height: about 0m150.

Tomb No. 16

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north.

The left arm is straight. The right arm is partly missing (from elbow to the hands). The skull was found crushed. The body may have been mutilated before the burial. Close to the right foot was placed an almost globular *vase* (1) of red ware, and over the left shoulder was a blue and white porcelain *dish* (2).

1. The *vase* has a flaring, large mouth and presents on the belly elongated depressions (perhaps a conventionalized lotus pattern), reminiscent of Sung cups decorated with lotus leaf patterns in low relief. A similar vase found at Kay Tomas is reproduced in Pl. 12, 1 a, b.

2. Blue and white porcelain *dish* with rather large footring. The dish is decorated inside with a large flower (chrysanthemum?) placed in a pear-shaped vase. Height: 0m035. A similar dish is reproduced in Pl. 4, 3.

Tomb No. 17

Skeleton stretching northeast-southwest with the skull to the northeast. The legs were slightly folded.

At the right shoulder was a celadon *dish* (1), near the hand of the left arm two glass paste (?) *bracelets* (2), and close to the left knee a little white *bottle* (3). A short distance from the skeleton we found scattered in the earth fragments of two blue and white *dishes* (4, 5), as well as a *spindle whorl* (6).

1. Rather large celadon *dish* with "waved" rim and thick footring (Pl. 5, 7). Inside, in the center, is seen a flower in low relief surrounded by waved lines (water). On the border are conventionalized flowers, leaves and waved lines. The bottom is partly unglazed, reddish and yellow-reddish. Diam.: 0m235. This dish is similar to the one found in tomb No. 22 of Kay Tomas; cf. Pl. 8, 2.

2a. Glass paste *bracelet*, originally probably blue, now vitrified yellowish. Almost triangular cross-section. External diam.: 0m071. Thickness: 0m009.

2b. Fragments of an almost identical *bracelet*.

3. White glazed earthenware *jarlet* with low, narrow neck and footring. The bottom is unglazed, greyish. The bottle is similar

to those found in tombs 10, 12, and 13, reminiscent of the one reproduced by us in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 30. Height: 0m050.

4. Blue and white porcelain *dish*, broken and repaired (Pl. 5, 2). The rim is waved. At the bottom is a rather sharp footring. Inside in the center is a *ch'i-lin* surrounded by different symbolic signs. On the border is a geometric pattern, groups of crossed lines and dots. On the reverse side are irregular dots and curved lines (conventionalized leaves or flowers?), reminiscent of those seen in Pl. 5, 4. The form and design are similar to the *ch'i-lin* dishes found in tombs 14 and 18 (Pl. 7, 1; 5, 4). Diam.: 0m173.

5. Small, broken white and blue porcelain *dish* (Pl. 5, 3), provided with a footring. Inside in the center is seen a design of a *ch'i-lin*. There are several sand spots in the glaze. Outside are conventionalized flower designs with curved branches and leaves. The dish is somewhat warped. Diam.: 0m120.

6. *Spindle whorl*, almost cylindrical, in red, brownish clay. Diam.: about 0m027.

Tomb No. 18

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the south. Close to the skull (right side) was an eared earthenware *bottle* (1), placed over the pubic region, an inverted "hole-bottom" *dish* (2), immediately over the knees a blue and white porcelain *dish* (3), and close to the right foot a small red *vase* of native make, the latter crushed in the soil and not preserved.

1. Earthenware, eared *bottle* with the neck missing. The bottom is slightly concave. The main part of the body is covered with a layer of brownish glaze, and above this layer is another, almost milk white. Below the handles and at the bottom the bottle is unglazed, reddish yellow. A similar bottle is reproduced by us in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 27, 3. Height: 0m097.

2. "Hole-bottom," glazed blue and white *dish* (Pl. 5, 6). In the center is a red-enamelled goldfish with a projecting white eye and a black pupil. Around the fish is conventionalized blue seaweed. The dish is similar to those found in tombs 1 (4), 13, etc. Diam.: 0m125.

Several times we have noticed (Tombs 1, 4, etc.) that the "hole-bottom" dishes had been placed inverted over the pubic region.

3. Blue and white porcelain *dish* with slightly "waved" edge and footring (Pl. 5, 4). In the center is a *ch'i-lin* and different symbolic signs (fire, clouds, etc.) similar to the decoration on the plate reproduced in Pl. 5, 2. The back of the *ch'i-lin* is covered by sand spots.

The flaring rim is decorated with geometric patterns (groups of crossed lines and dots). Outside are seen dots and curved lines (conventionalized flowers or leaves?). Diam.: 0m177.

Tomb No. 19

Skeleton stretching north-south. There was no skull, but curiously enough we found a few teeth at the end of the spinal column to the north. Cf. also O. JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 21, 3. The deceased had probably been beheaded. The left arm was straight, the right arm folded, the hand resting on the pubic region.

Over the feet were placed two inverted *bowls* (1, 2). On the place where the skull should have been was a dark greenish porcelain *bowl* (3); vide O. JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 26, 1.

1. Light green, glazed *bowl* with slightly flaring rim. The bottom is provided with a high, unglazed yellowish footring. Height: 0m062. The shape of this bowl is reminiscent of certain bowls found in Indo-China and generally attributed to the time of the Yüan dynasty; cf. O. JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 21, 3. Another similar specimen, found in Thanh-hoa in 1935, was brought by us to the Musée Cernuschi in Paris.

2. Almost hemispherical light green, glazed *bowl* with high footring. Inside at the bottom and below the rim are some spots with a thicker, somewhat darker glaze. Height: 0m066.

3. Dark green glazed *bowl* with rather low footring. Inside at the bottom a disk-shaped depression. The glaze is crackled. Outside a conventionalized lotus (?) pattern; cf. O. JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 26, 1. The bottom is unglazed, light greyish. The mouth is broken and repaired. Height: 0m063.

Tomb No. 20

A child's skeleton stretching north northeast-south southwest with the skull to the north northeast. No funerary deposit.

Tomb No. 21

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north. No funerary deposit.

Tomb No. 22

Skeleton of a child stretching north-south with the skull to the north. The skeleton was in a bad state of conservation.

Above the feet was a "hole-bottom" *dish* (1) placed upside down, and close to the knees, a *bowl* (2) of native red ware, placed in an inverted position.

1. "Hole-bottom" *dish*, decorated in the center with a red enamelled goldfish, surrounded by blue, conventionalized seaweed. The mouth is slightly damaged. The dish is of the same shape as those found in tombs No. 1 (4), 13, 18 (cf. Pl. 5, 6). Diam.: 0m122.

2. Small, almost globular *cup* of red ware with flaring, damaged mouth. At the bottom is an unintentional, irregular opening. Height: 0m072.

Tomb No. 23

Skeleton stretching north-south without skull. Feet to the south. Over the pubic region was an inverted, large celadon *bowl*.

1. Large celadon *bowl* with flaring rim and footring. Inside, at the bottom and near the rim, are concentric circles. On the sides are groups of almost straight lines crossing one another. The bottom, outside, is unglazed greyish, reddish. Broken and partly repaired. Diam.: 0m243.

Tomb No. 24

Skeleton of a child stretching north-south with the skull to the north. The skeleton was badly damaged. The body may have been mutilated. Over the feet was placed an inverted blue and white porcelain *dish*.

1. Porcelain *dish* with footring (JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 30, 3). In the middle is a *ch'i-lin* with string-like flames and cloud motifs. Outside are conventionalized flowers and branches. A similar decoration is seen in Pl. 5, 3, and 10, 2. Diam.: 0m177.

Tomb No. 25

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north. Close to the right knee was a glazed earthenware *jar* (1).

1. Black glazed earthenware *jar*, almost pear-shaped. On the shoulder are four small handles. The body is partly unglazed red. The bottom is even, unglazed, greyish.

The upper part of the jar is broken and partly repaired.

A similar jar is reproduced in Pl. 14, 1.

Tomb No. 26

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north. Close to the skull we found an almost pear-shaped undecorated *vase*, broken in many pieces and not preserved. On the breast was placed a large blue and white porcelain *dish* (Pl. 5, 5).

1. Blue and white porcelain *dish*, with footring (Pl. 5, 5). Inside, the dish is decorated with four flowers, leaves and a large blue spot, the latter probably made by mistake. The artist probably did not succeed in designing properly the flower and filled the undecorated surface with some brush strokes. The blue is dull and spotty (mottled). Outside are five flowers and between them conventionalized leaves. Originally the artist probably meant to make a design covering the whole interior surface with flowers as seen in Pl. 6, 4; cf. JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 32, 2. Diam.: 0m235.

Tomb No. 27

Skeleton stretching north-south with the skull to the north. The arms were crossed over the belly.

Close to the knees was an almost biconical *vase* (red ware) and at some distance from the skeleton, fragments of a black glazed *jar* similar to the one found at Pinagpatayan, tomb No. 25, but smaller, and at Kay Tomas, tomb No. 5 (Pl. 14, 1).

1. Almost biconical native *vase* of red ware with two spouts and two button-shaped handles (similar to the one reproduced, Pl. 4, 1). The mouth is slightly flaring. The bottom is provided with a footring. The vase is undecorated. The shape is the same as the shape of the vases found in tombs No. 3, 5 (O. JANSE, in *HJAS* 6, Pl. 28, 5), and 15. Height: 0m150.

Tomb No. 28

Parts of a skeleton stretching north-south with the feet to the south. No skull, no arms and no thorax. The body of the deceased may have been mutilated.

On the place of the skull we found a hemispherical, glazed *bowl*, broken, grey-greenish, undecorated. The bottom is provided with a rather high footring. Height: 0m077.

Tomb No. 29

Skeleton stretching north-south with skull to the north. No funerary deposit.

Plates

1. Aerial view of the coast of Luzon at Calatagan, prov. of Batangas. A part of the field of Pinagpatayan is seen in the lower left corner of the picture.

2, 1. A test trench is being opened in the region of Dalipit, prov. of Batangas, Luzon, where bronze celts of the Dong-son type are said to have been found; cf. p. 34. Photo. O. Janse.

2, 2. Artificial, square caves, made in rocks, Calatagan, prov. of Batangas, Luzon. The caves are said to have been used for burials in pre-Spanish times. Photo. O. Janse.

3, 1. The field of Pinagpatayan, Calatagan, Luzon, where numerous tombs, containing Ming ceramics, were excavated. In the background are the Bimbusan mountains. Photo. O. Janse.

3, 2. The funerary deposit of tomb No. 1, Pinagpatayan, in its original position; cf. Fig. 1, Pl. 17.

4, 1. Tomb No. 5, Pinagpatayan. Part of a skeleton and the funerary deposit in their original position. On the inverted *dish* was found a pottery *spindle whorl*. Photo. O. Janse.

4, 2. The skeletons of tombs No. 1 and 2, Pinagpatayan, in their original position (cf. Fig. 1 and Pl. 17). The photograph was taken after the funerary deposit had been removed. In the background are the Bimbusan mountains. Photo. O. Janse.

4, 3. Glazed *dish* with a "flower in a vase" motif. Diam.: 0m190. Kay Tomas, Calatagan. Isolated find. Photo. O. Janse.

4, 4. Part of the skeleton of tomb No. 10, Pinagpatayan. Photo. O. Janse.

5. Ceramics found at Pinagpatayan:

5, 1. *Jarlet*, covered with brownish glaze. Tomb No. 13.

5, 2. Blue and white *dish*, from tomb No. 17, reproducing a *ch'i-lin* 麒麟, a fantastic, composite animal: head of a dragon, body of a deer, slender legs, divided hoofs and bushy tail, somewhat like the lion's. The animal is surrounded by curling, occasionally snake-like, flames, a manifestation of the divine nature of the *ch'i-lin*. It is believed that this, the most noble of creatures in the animal kingdom, appears as an omen of a good ruler to come and that it attains the age of 1000 years or even more. The reverse of the plate is provided with a decoration, similar to the one reproduced in Pl. 5, 4. Photo. O. Janse.

5, 3. *Saucer* (blue and white), damaged, also decorated with a *ch'i-lin* motif, from tomb No. 17. In the interior are two sand spots. Photo. O. Janse.

5, 4. Bottom of a *dish* (blue and white), reproducing on the other face a *ch'i-lin* similar to the one seen on the dish reproduced in Pl. 5, 2. Tomb No. 18. Photo. O. Janse.

5, 5. Large, well preserved *dish* (blue and white) from tomb No. 26. Conventionalized and unfinished flower designs; cf. p. 57. Photo. O. Janse.

5, 6. "Hole bottom" *saucer*, with enamelled fish in the center. Tomb No. 18.

5, 7. Large celadon *dish* with conventionalized flower design. Tomb No. 17. A similar dish was found in tomb No. 22, Kay Tomas; cf. Pl. 8, 2.

6, 1a, b. Blue and white *bowl*, seen in profile and from above. From tomb No. 1, Pulong Bacao, Calatagan. The decoration is composed of dots. Photo. O. Janse.

6, 2a, b. Cream colored *bowl*, with greenish flower designs, seen in profile and from above. Pulong Bacao, Calatagan, tomb No. 2. Photo. O. Janse.

6, 3. Green glazed *jarlet*. Pinagpatayan, Calatagan, tomb No. 2. Photo O. Janse.

6, 4. Large *dish* (blue and white), decorated with conventionalized flower designs; cf. Pl. 4, 1. Tomb No. 5, Pinagpatayan.

6, 5. *Dish* (blue and white), decorated with a gold (?) fish and seaweed. Pinagpatayan, Calatagan, tomb No. 12. Photo. O. Janse.

6, 6. *Iron dagger* with tenant. Pinagpatayan, Calatagan, tomb No. 14. Photo O. Janse.

6, 7. Part of a "hole-bottom" *bowl*, decorated with a person and a Chinese character, possibly 壽, of the same type as the one reproduced in Pl. 10, 1. Pinagpatayan, Calatagan. Surface find.

6, 8a, b. Part of a *dish* (blue and white), seen from two sides, reproducing the spinning maiden and her lover, the Cowherd. Pinagpatayan, Calatagan, near tomb No. 6. A similar decoration is seen on the dish found in tomb No. 10 of Pinagpatayan. Cf. O. Janse, An Archaeological Expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines, *HJAS* 6, Pl. 29, 1 and ibid. 266, 267. Photo. O. Janse.

7, 1. *Dish* (blue and white) reproducing a *ch'i-lin*; cf. Pl. 5, 2. Pinagpatayan, Calatagan, tomb No. 14. Photo. O. Janse.

7, 2. *Dish* (blue and white) reproducing a *ch'i-lin*; cf. Pl. 5, 2. Kay Tomas, Calatagan, tomb No. 18.

8, 1. Skeleton and funerary deposit in their original position. Kay Tomas, Calatagan, tomb No. 15. The inverted dish over the pubic region (cf. Pl. 8, 3a, b) is of the Wan-li period (1573–1620). To the left of the skeleton is a layer of shells. Photo. O. Janse.

8, 2. Part of skeleton and inverted ceramics. Kay Tomas, Calatagan, tomb No. 22. The dish placed above the pubic region is of the same type as the one reproduced in Pl. 5, 7 (from tomb No. 17 of Pinagpatayan).

8, 3a, b. Glazed *dish*, with green and red flower designs, from tomb No. 15 of Kay Tomas, Calatagan; cf. Pl. 8, 1. The dish is seen in profile and from above. The white, green and red ceramics (from the Wan-li period) are rare at Calatagan. Photo. O. Janse.

9, 1. Kay Tomas, Calatagan. The ground where the first tombs were discovered is being cleared. In the center, Mr. Jacobo Zobel, owner of the estate of Calatagan. Photo. O. Janse.

9, 2. Skeleton and funerary deposit (*ceramics*, most of which are inverted) in their original position. Kay Tomas, Calatagan, tomb No. 31. The inverted dish above the knees is decorated with a "flower in vase" motif, similar to the one reproduced in Pl. 4, 3. Cf. also Pl. 11, 1; 13, 4, 6. Photo. O. Janse.

9, 3. Skeleton and funerary deposit in their original position. Kay Tomas, Calatagan, tomb No. 26. On the left arm is a glass paste(?) bracelet and above the right arm two perforated boar's tusks. At the feet are two human skulls, possibly a product of head hunting. Photo. O. Janse.

10, 1. "Hole-bottom" glazed, blue and white *bowl* decorated with a "fat man" and a Chinese character (see 6, 7). Kay Tomas, tomb No. 8. The reverse of the bowl is reproduced in our article, An Archaeological Expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines, *HJAS* 6, Pl. 31, 2.

10, 2. Blue and white glazed *saucer*, decorated with a *ch'i-lin*. Kay Tomas, Calatagan, tomb No. 13. Cf. Pl. 5, 3 (Pinagpatayan, tomb No. 17) and O. Janse, An Archaeological Expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines, *HJAS* 6, Pl. 30, 3 (Pinagpatayan, tomb No. 24). Photo. O. Janse.

10, 3. Glazed *dish* with conventionalized flower designs of misty, light blue color. Diam.: 0m075. Kay Tomas, Calatagan, tomb No. 30. Photo. O. Janse.

10, 4. Glazed *bowl* of light color, decorated outside with a conventionalized lotus flower(?) pattern. Diam.: 0m120. Kay Tomas, Calatagan. Isolated find. A similar, but dark greeen glazed bowl was found in tomb No. 19 of Pinagpatayan. The latter bowl was placed above the shoulders of a beheaded individual. Cf. O. Janse, An Archaeological Expedition to Indo-China and the Philippines, *HJAS* 6, Pl. 26, 1. Photo. O. Janse.

10, 5a, b. Glazed *bowl* with conventionalized flower designs in greenish color, seen in profile and from above. Kay Tomas, Calatagan. Isolated find. Photo. O. Janse.

11, 1. Blue and cream colored, glazed *saucer*, seen from below. Outside is a conventionalized flower pattern. For the inside decoration, see Pl. 13, 6. Diam.: 0m182. Kay Tomas, Calatagan, tomb No. 31. Cf. Pl. 9, 2. Photo. O. Janse.

11, 2. Glazed, large cream colored *dish*. Ishide is a flower pattern in blue color. The rim is decorated outside with wheel-shaped flowers and conventionalized stalks. Cf. Pl. 13, 7. Diam.: 0m265. Kay Tomas, tomb No. 21. Photo. O. Janse.

11, 3a, b. Blue and white *bowl*, decorated with flower designs. Inside, at the bottom (3a), is a design of a shell. Diam.: 0m044. Isolated find. Kay Tomas. Photo. O. Janse.

12, 1a, b. Native, unglazed, rather large, globular, somewhat depressed pottery *vase*. Red ware. Below the rim are thin, zig zag or wavy, horizontal grooves and " finger prints," separated by groups of vertical incised lines. Isolated find. Kay Tomas.

12, 2. Four human *teeth*, provided with small gold plugs. Traces of filing and black varnish; cf. p. 42. Kay Tomas, tomb No. 13. Photo. O. Janse.

12, 3. Intentionally *chipped bottom* of a ceramic bowl, used probably as a toy (throwing disk). Pulong Bacao, Calatagan. Isolated find. Photo. O. Janse.

12, 4. Bottom of a cream glazed *bowl*. Inside in the center is an ornamental motif in misty blue, reminiscent of three conventionalized trees. Kay Tomas, tomb No. 1. Photo. O. Janse.

12, 5, 6. Decorated *parts* (*bottoms*) of *glazed bowls*. Pinagpatayan. Isolated finds. Photo. O. Janse.

12, 7a, b. *Axe* of porous stone with asymmetrical edge, seen from two sides. Length: 0m070. Kay Tomas. Isolated find. Photo. O. Janse.

12, 8a. Cylindrical pottery *bead* or *netsinker*.

12, 8b, c, d. Truncated pottery *spindle whorls*.

12, 8e. Phallus-shaped *object* of hard black matter. 8a-e from Kay Tomas. Isolated finds.

12, 9. Stone *axe* with asymmetrical edge. Length: 0m050. Kay Tomas. Isolated find.

12, 10. *Obsedian flake*. Kay Tomas. Isolated find.

13, 1. Globular, red *vase* with a small spout. The bottom is mottled, blackish (traces of fire and soot?). Height: 0m086. Kay Tomas. Isolated find.

13, 2. Red, unglazed *dish* on a circular base. Diam.: approx. 0m12. Kay Tomas. Isolated find.

13, 3. Globular, unglazed *vase* of red ware, with vertical grooves on the body. Kay Tomas, tomb No. 3.

13, 4. Glazed, cream colored *bowl* with a footring and blue greenish decoration. Inside in the center, surrounded by a circle, is a conventionalized lotus pattern. Outside, below the rim, is a row of groups of straight, oblique lines and a few curved ones. Diam.: 0m132. Kay Tomas, tomb No. 31.

13, 5. Globular, red, unglazed *vase* with a row of vertical grooves on the body. Height: 0m110. Kay Tomas, tomb No. 31.

13, 6. Blue and cream colored dish with footring. Inside in the center is an unglazed, ring-shaped zone, surrounded by a row of five leaves. Outside is seen a conventionalized flower pattern; cf. Pl. 11, 1. Diam.: 0m182. Kay Tomas, tomb No. 31.

13, 7. Skeleton and funerary deposit in their original position. The other side of the large inverted dish is reproduced in Pl. 11, 2. Kay Tomas, tomb No. 21. Photos. 13, 1-7, O. Janse.

14, 1. Cylindrical *jar* of red ware. The upper part is covered with greenish glaze. Height: 0m750. The vessel was found standing behind the skull of the skeleton in tomb No. 5 of Kay Tomas. Photo. O. Janse.

14, 2, 3. Two *stone statues*, one representing a man, the other a woman. Neither has a mouth. They are said to have been found in a tomb at Pulambang, Calatagan, lying with their faces turned towards the earth. Coll. Zobel, Calatagan.

14, 4. Funerary deposit of a late Sung or early Ming tomb, discovered in northern Annam (Vân-trai No. 3, phû of Tinh-gia, prov. of Thanh-hoa): two native, unglazed *jars* and two inverted, glazed *bowls* of Chinese make. The dead body, no traces of which were preserved, had probably been placed with the head between the two jars and the pubic region covered by the inverted bowls, in the same way as often noticed in the Ming tombs of Calatagan; e. g., Pl. 8, 1, 2 and p. 40. Concerning the excavations at Vân-trai, vide O. Janse in *HJAS* 6.255 and Pl. 21, 2; 22-24. Photo. O. Janse.

15, 1. Region of Lamitan and Bohelebung, Basilan Island, Philippines. Courtesy M. Cason-Bonardel.

15, 2. Pile dwellings on the shore of the Basilan Island at Lamitan. In the foreground, some outriggers. Photo. O. Janse.

16, 1. Big *jar*, said to have been found on the island of Mindanao, Philippines. Private Coll. Zamboanga. Photo. O. Janse.

16, 2. Large, greenglazed *jar*, decorated with dragons in relief, cloud patterns and four handles, each in the shape of the dog Foo. Height: 0m510. Pulong Bacao, Calatagan. Isolated find. Photo. O. Janse.

17. The graveyard at Pinagpatayan, Calatagan.

PLATE 2

1 *Photo. O. Janse*

2 *Photo. O. Janse*

1

Photo. O. Janse

2

Photo. O. Janse

PLATE 4

1 *Photo. O. Janse*

3

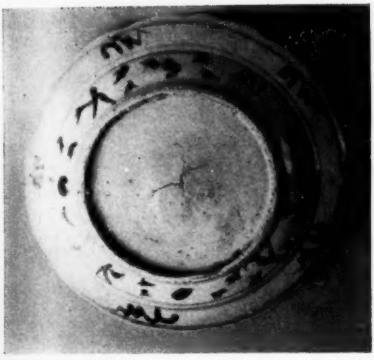
2 *Photo. O. Janse*

4 *Photo. O. Janse*

1

2

3



4

5

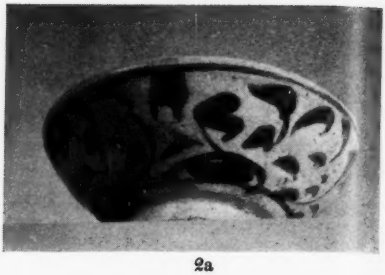
6

7

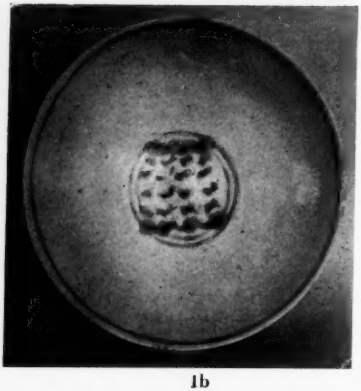
Photo. O. Janse

PLATE 6

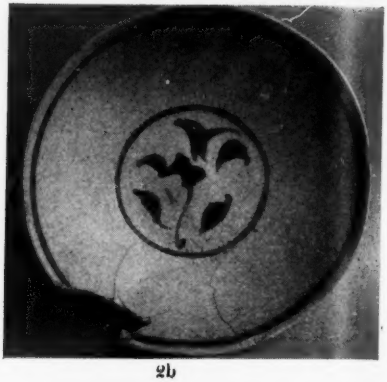
1a



2a

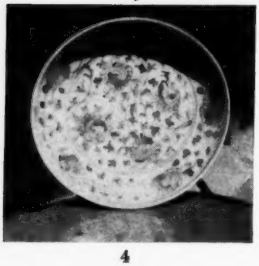


1b

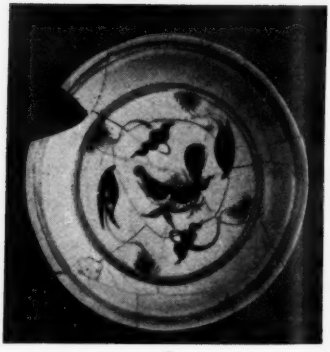


2b

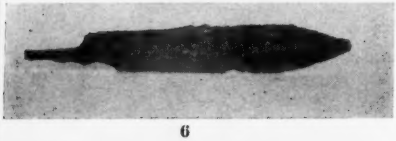
3



4



5



6

7

8a

8b

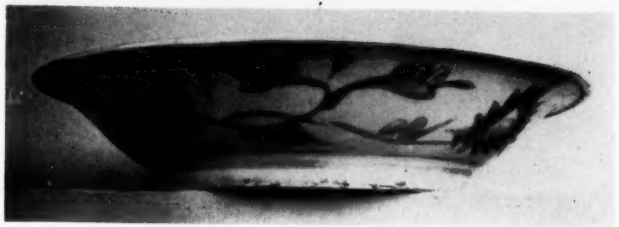
1

2

Photo. O. Janse

1

2

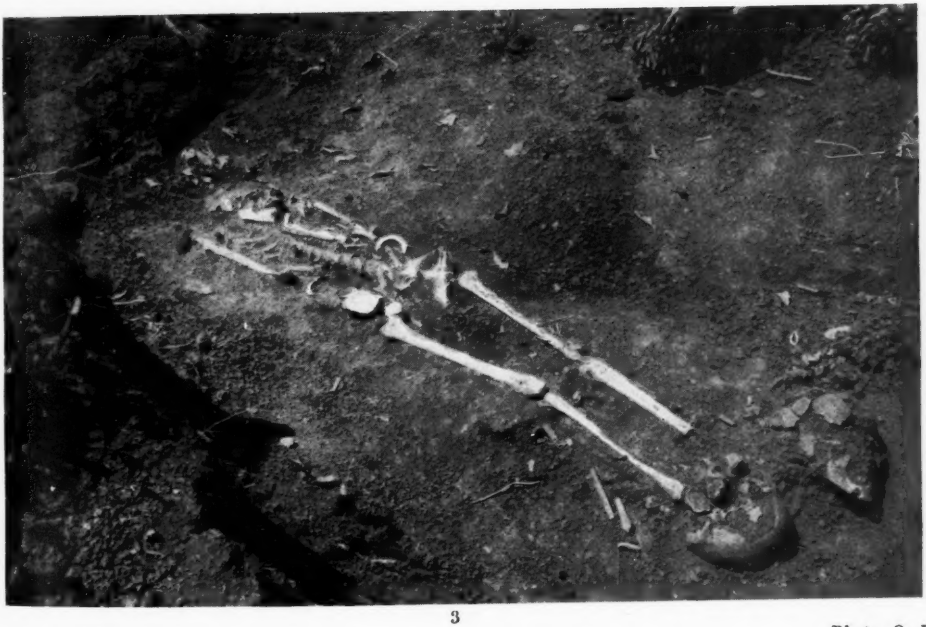


3a

3b

1

2



3

Photo. O. Janse

PLATE 10

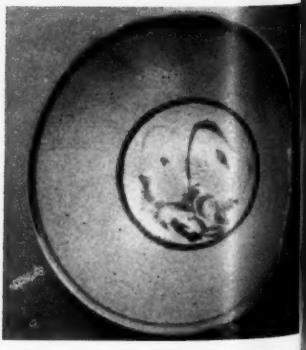
1

3

4

2

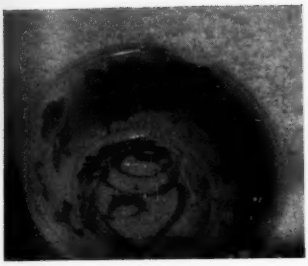
5a



5b

Photo. O. Janse

1



3a

2

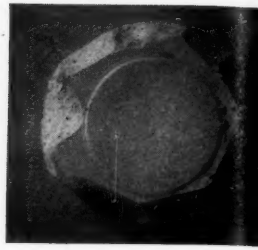
3b

Photo. O. Janse

PLATE 12

1a

2



3

1b

4

5 6

b

7a

7b

a c e

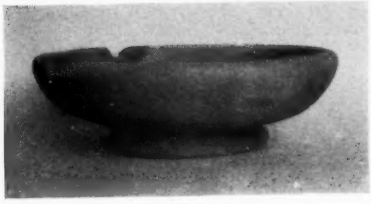
8

d

9 10

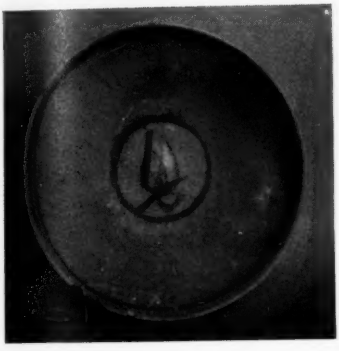
Photo. O. Jan

1



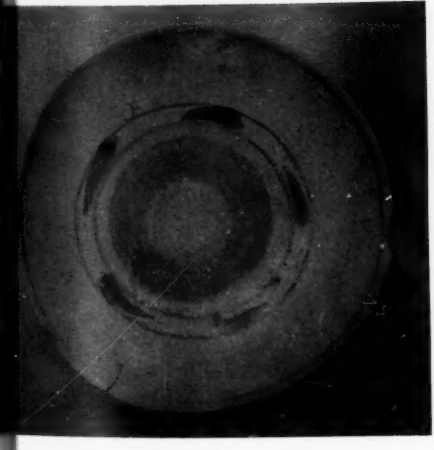
2

3



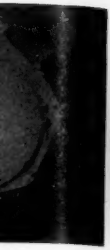
4

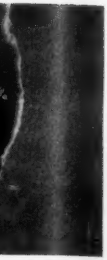
5

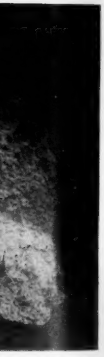


6

7







b

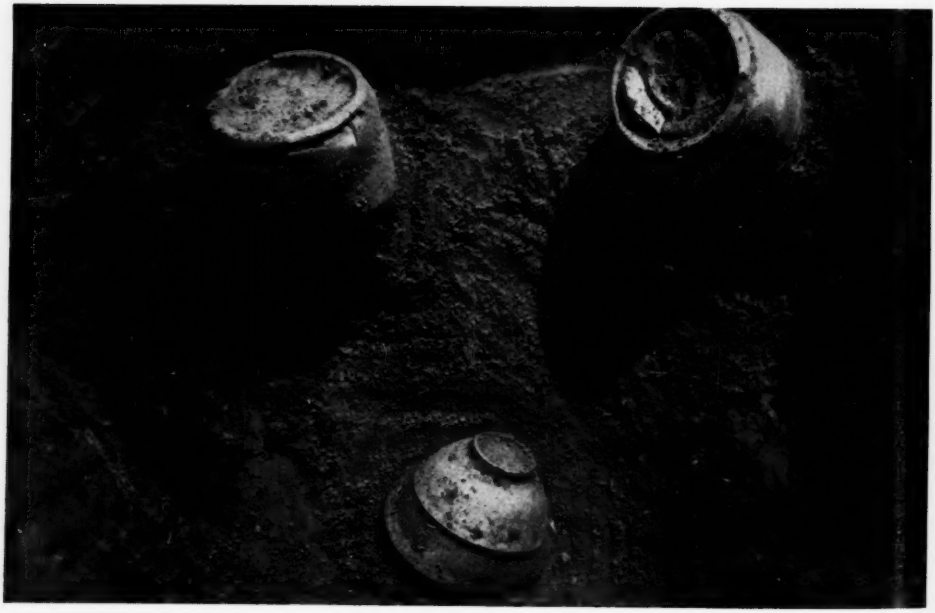
10

to. O. Janse

PLATE 14

1 2 3

Photo. O. Janse



4

Photo. O. Janse

1

2

Photo. O. Janse

1

2

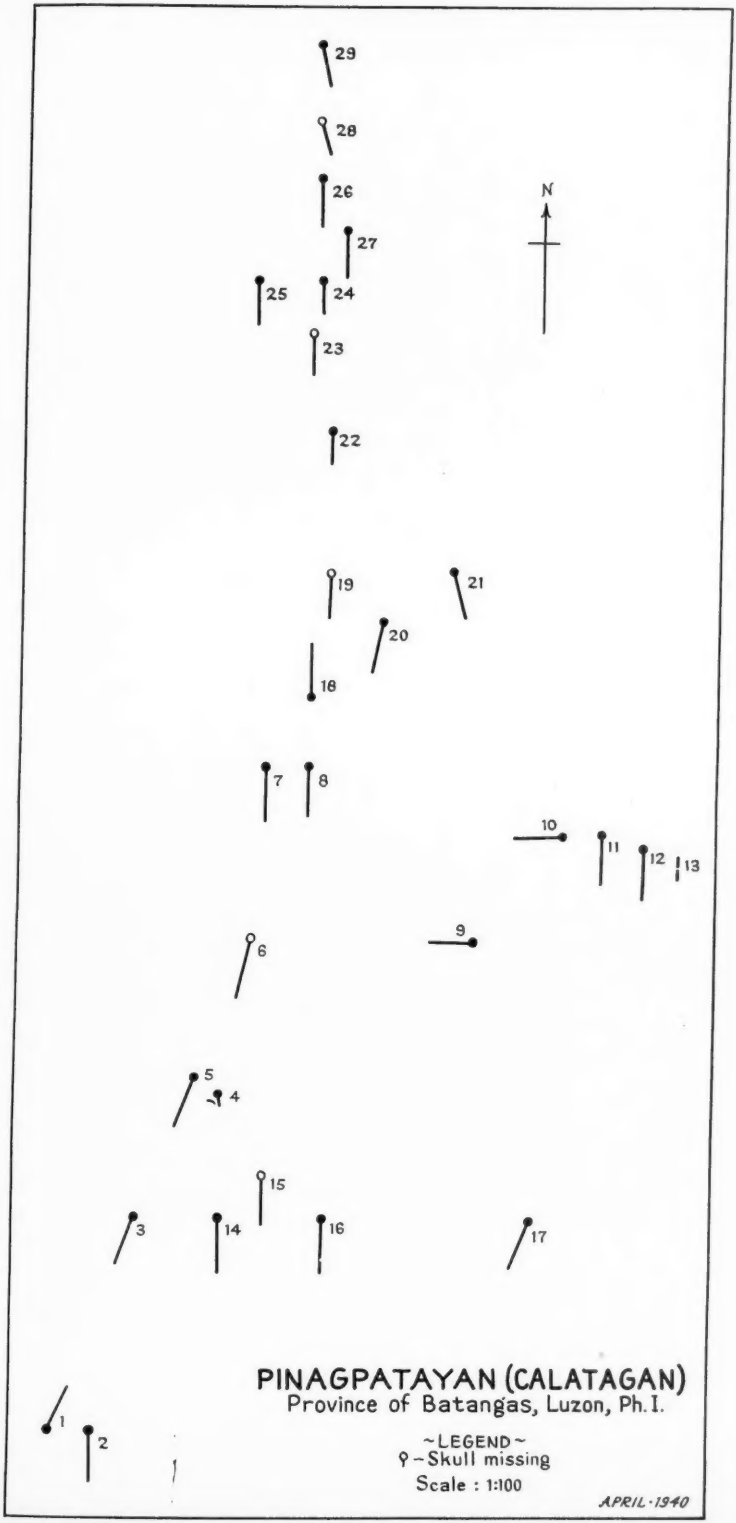
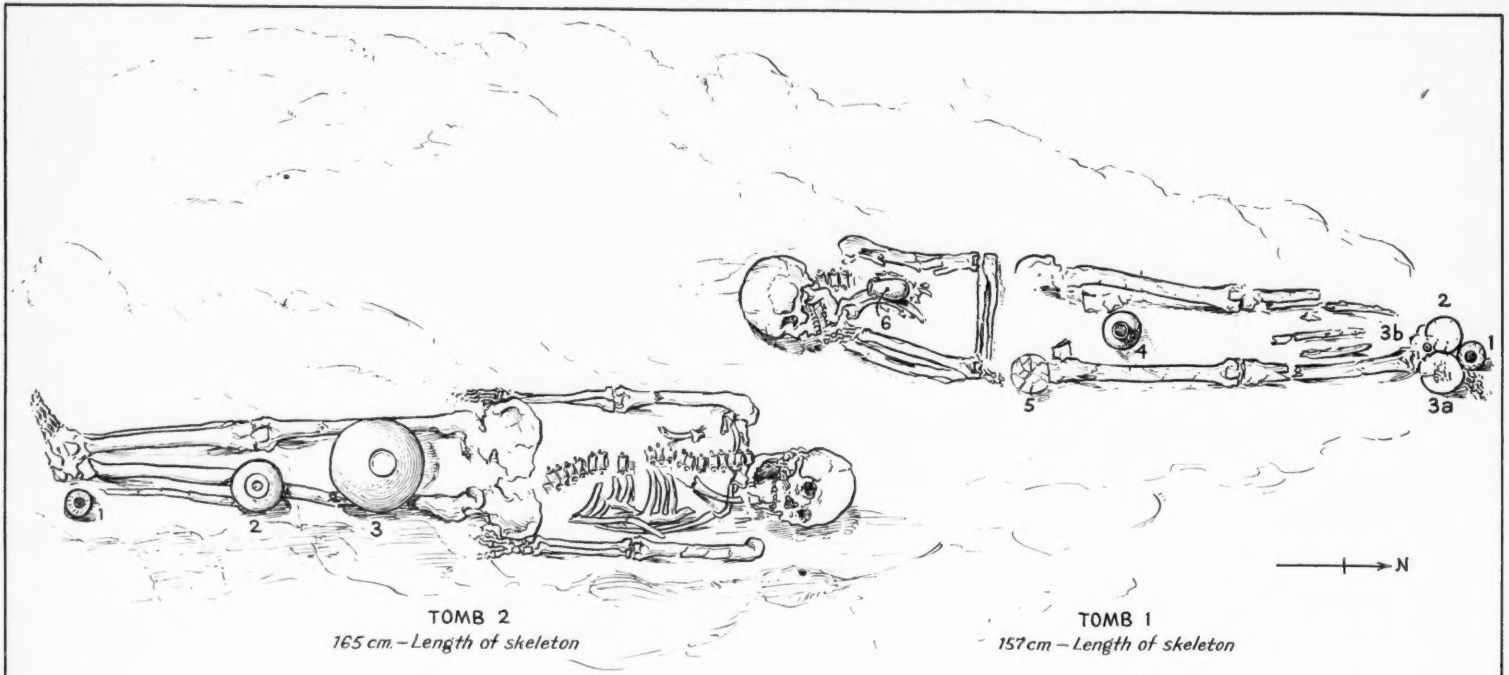
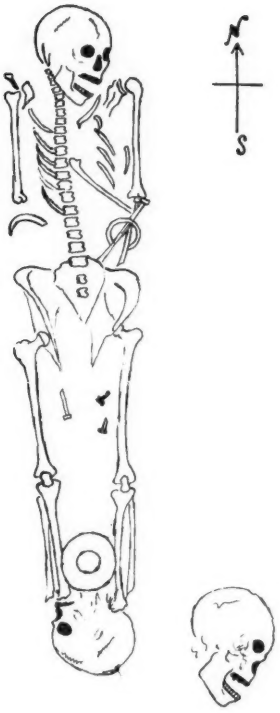

29
28
26
27
25
24
23
22
19
21
20
18
7
8
10
11
12
13
9
6
5
4
15
3
14
16
17
1
2
N
PINAGPATAYAN (CALATAGAN)
Province of Batangas, Luzon, Ph. I.
~LEGEND~
♀-Skull missing
Scale : 1:100
APRIL·1940

FIG. 1



PINAGPATAYAN (CALATAGAN)
Batangas, Luzon, Ph. I.

FIG. 2



Tomb No. 26, Kay Tomas,
Calatagan. Cf. Pl. 9, 3.

UNIV. OF MICH.

REVIEWS

Ananda K. COOMARASWAMY, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, pp. 86, Philosophical Library, New York, 1943.

At an early date, several centuries before the Christian era, the Rig Veda had become an obscure text, and four mutually contradictory schools of interpretation were devised, ritualistic, philosophical, etymological, and historical and mythical. COOMARASWAMY's approach to the Vedas represents a new combination of the philosophical and mythical interpretations. A new motivation comes from the study of Meister Eckhart and other mediaeval mystics and the conviction that the Rig Veda represents another form of the universal, mystical Philosophia Perennis and must, therefore, be interpreted as philosophy clothed in myth.

In a review of René GUENON's, *East and West* (Asia, Aug. 1943) COOMARASWAMY characterizes the book as "an exposition of the universal tradition which has been the foundation of every past culture, and which represents the indispensable basis of any civilization deserving to be so called." This familiar doctrine of a revealed esoteric tradtion of the Philosophia Perennis which, for easier comprehension, has been clothed in myth and handed down through the ages by an elite of *Mahātmas* forms the basis of COOMARASWAMY's treatment of Hinduism and Buddhism.

"Like the Revelation itself, we must begin with the Myth, the penultimate truth, of which all experience is the temporal reflection" (p. 6), "The Myth is not a 'poetic invention' in the sense these words now bear" (p. 6), "Ethics, whether as prudence or as art, is nothing but the scientific application of doctrinal norms to contingent problems" (p. 6), "Myth embodies the nearest approach to absolute truth that can be stated in words" (note 21), "and it is just because an organization of functions such as this, with its mutual loyalties and duties, is absolutely incompatible with our competitive industrialism, that the monarchic, feudal and caste system is always painted in such dark colors by the sociologist, whose thinking is determined more by his actual

environment than it is a deduction from first principles" (p. 27).

COOMARASWAMY would have us believe that the truth is in the past and can be found only by following tradition. Truth cannot be found by studying the present and reaching forward into the future. As compared with the past the present is bad, as compared with the Orient the West is bad, as compared with authoritarian society democracy is bad, and as compared with compliance with tradition individual research and experimentation is bad.

Any interpretation motivated by such a fixed idea tends to force etymologies and meanings on words and passages in order to make them conform to a preconceived idea. Therefore the claim "to speak with mathematical precision, but never employing words of our own or making any affirmations for which authority could not be cited by chapter and verse" is more apparent than real. Below are given some examples of this tendency.

The word *giri* "mountain," of obscure etymology, is derived (p. 8 and note 21) from the root *gir*, to "swallow," in order to gain support for the myth which has just been described.

At R. V. 1, 32, 5 Indra slays Vṛtra with his "bolt" (*vajreṇa*) whereas in R. V. 2, 11, 5 he slays him by his "manliness" or "valor" (*vīryeṇa*). In the second passage COOMARASWAMY claims (note 133) that the word *vīrya* means "semen" because it has that meaning in a much later passage from Manu 1. 8. This is flimsy evidence for an erotic interpretation of the whole Indra-Vṛtra myth and for the statement (p. 23), "There are more ways than one of 'killing' a Dragon; and the Dragon-slayer's bolt (*vajra*) being in fact a shaft of light, and 'light the progenetive power,' its signification is not only military, but also phallic. It is the battle of love that has been won when the Dragon 'expires.' In the same hymn (1, 32, 1), and in many other similar passages, must we translate *Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam* as 'I praise the semen of Indra' instead of 'the heroic deeds'?"

On p. 58 is the statement, "the contrast of the plural verb with its singular object is precise. It is the One that the many are to find." But in Sanskrit and Pāli, when the subject of a verb is

plural the object is put in the singular when each of the subjects has one of the objects. This particular passage is no proof of the doctrine of Oneness.

With reference to R. V. 3, 51, 3 where Indra is called *abhimāti-han* instead of *vṛtra-han* COOMARASWAMY remarks (note 265) that the word refers to "the Ego-notion" and that this "is already the Enemy, the Dragon to be overcome." There is nothing in the context of this passage, which refers to battle, and booty, and breaking open of citadels, or in other passages, to indicate that the word here or elsewhere has anything more than its usual literal meaning of "enemy."

On p. 70 is the remark that Agni possesses "omniscience, particularly of births," and note 188 equates Vedic *jātavedas* with Pāli *jātissaro* which means "remembering past births." The Vedic tradition knows nothing of this as a meaning of *jātavedas*, a very common epithet of Agni, and there is not the slightest evidence that would lead to an equation with the Pāli word. Of the five interpretations given by Yāska the contexts, and the epithet *viśvavid* or *viśvavedas* "all-knowing," seem to indicate that "he who knows born things" is the most likely meaning. The word affords no proof for the Platonic doctrine of Memory.

For the contention (p. 50 and note 180) that Buddha is a solar deity the only reference given is to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* which is many centuries later and represents a fundamental change in point of view. It is characteristic of COOMARASWAMY'S method that texts are timeless, that there was no historical development of ideas, that all texts are one flat level, and that passages which can be made, by proper interpretation, to conform to a preconceived idea are made use of irrespective of date and context.

The Buddhist word *akāliko* "timeless" is interpreted (pp. 45, 50) as meaning "eternal," but the Buddhist tradition interprets it as meaning "immediate," that is to say "not taking time to yield its fruit."

Great over-emphasis is placed on the amount of devotion implied by giving a god his "share," that is by sacrificing to him (p. 20). In many texts of the post-Vedic literature the word *bhakti*

is frequent in the sense of "devotion," and a devotional attitude dominates the whole ritualistic procedure. In the whole of the *Rig Veda* the word occurs only once, obviously in the literal meaning of "share." The same is true of the *Brāhmaṇas*. We should like more definite proof that "devotion" also dominated the whole procedure of ritualistic Brahmanism.

As to note 255 the reference in R. V. 5, 75, 5 is not to Indra but to the Aśvins, who are always connected with the morning. The reference to Indra is 8, 93 (82), 18 and the stanza does not ask him to be of waking mind in order to overcome Vṛtra but in order that he "may hear our prayer," a natural request since the sacrifice is performed early in the morning. The contexts preclude anything but the literal meaning. The words are far removed from the abstract *bodhi-citta* of Buddhism.

On p. 46 is a quotation from S. 2, 106 to the effect that Buddha is following the ancient Way of the *sammāsambuddhas* "perfectly enlightened ones," and the statement that there can be no doubt that these are the "knowers of Brahma" referred to in the Upanishads. The word *sammāsambuddha* is a technical Buddhist word. The reference is to the Buddhist myth of a succession of Buddhas, of whom the historical Buddha was the last. It is a gratuitous assumption that the word refers outside the Buddhist framework to Brahman sages of whom it is said in M. 2, 170 "no claim personally to have seen and known the absolute truth of the runes has been preferred by a single living brahmin or by a single teacher of brahmins for seven successive generations back or by the brahmin sages who actually composed the runes which are repeated by brahmins today. It is like a string of blind men each holding on to his neighbor, the first of whom cannot see, nor can the one in the middle, nor can the hindmost. Such a string of blind men, methinks, exemplifies the brahmin tradition," and in D. 1. 238-9 that not even the ancient Vedic sages who composed the *mantras* had even seen Brahmā (masculine) face to face but teach a way to reach something of which they have had no personal experience. Such passages wreck any theory of an identity of Buddhist and Hindu traditions.

On p. 47 is the remark that the Vedic Indra is more than once

referred to as an Arhat. See also p. 67 and note 186 where the complaint is made that "Buddhist exegesis by scholars who do not know their Vedas is never quite reliable." The adverb *arhaṇā* and the participle *arhan* are each used once of Indra, and frequently of other gods, but with no indication that they are used in anything but the literal sense of "according to his due" and "being worthy." In one passage the gods "being worthy" attained to *amṛtatvam* "the state of not dying," but this state reached by the Vedic gods has nothing in common with the state reached by the Buddhist Arhat. The blustering, fighting, heavy-drinker, big-eater Indra has no resemblance to the tranquil Buddhist Arhat.

On pp. 58-60 and in notes 175. 195-200 COOMARASWAMY argues for a positive interpretation, in a few passages, of *attā*—the doctrine of a Self, single and immortal, corresponding to the Upanishadic *ātman*, contrasted with a self, which is composite and mortal. The problem is not so simple. The word *attā* is used frequently as a reflexive pronoun, and in the passages quoted by COOMARASWAMY may be used in a generalized reflexive sense. A man must be his own refuge, must rely on himself, for, bearing in mind the fact that each individual has his own karma (*kammassakatā*), there is no one else to whom a man can appeal—he must rely on himself, must be his own refuge.

It is true that the word *anattā*, although linguistically negative seems to imply a positive. On p. 48 COOMARASWAMY makes much of a quotation from an out-dated writer who gives a completely negative interpretation of Buddhism, but why does he ignore many other scholars who recognize a positive side to Buddha's teachings—for instance KEITH, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 65, 67 "reality of something over and above the empirical world," and, "without even the attributes of consciousness (*vijñāna*) admitted in the Upanishads," and BECKH, *Buddhismus* 2, 71-2 "Es wird ein solches Ich nicht geleugnet, sondern nur gesagt, das alles, was auf irgend welcher Stufe, als Ich erlebt wird, in Wirklichkeit nicht das Ich sei." The real problem is not that of the denial of something positive but the question whether this positive something is called *attā*.

If, in a few questionable passages, *attā* is used positively to describe this finality why is the grasping at *attavāda* (doctrine of an *attā*) so frequently referred to as one of the five graspings which the saint must rid himself of, and why is it stated so frequently that the saint must give up *attasaññā* (concept of an *attā*) and acquire *anattasaññā*, the concept that there is no *attā* in the cognizable world? Or if, in these passages, *attā* is used in the qualified sense of self, why do the passages not go on to describe an unqualified *attā* (Self)?

Note especially D. 1, 195 where three concepts of *attā* which are current in the world (*tayo kho 'me Poṭṭhapāda attapaṭilābhā*) are discarded although something beyond this is hinted at, but the word *attā* is not used to describe this finality. On the contrary it is said that the man who tries to describe it intellectually in words is as foolish as the man who tried to build a flight of stairs reaching to the sky. The finality is one of the indeterminates which is beyond words.

COOMARASWAMY ignores the many passages which speak of the indeterminates, the questions which tend not to edification—theories about an *attā* being one of these. "The Tathāgata is free from all theories."

The commentator to *Udāna* 67 does not say (p. 73), "that the Buddha is the Spiritual Self (*ātman*)." He merely intimates that in this statement of the well-known indeterminates the clauses, "The Tathāgata exists after death. . . . The Tathāgata does not exist after death. . . . The Tathāgata both exists and does not exist after death. . . . The Tathāgata neither exists nor does not exist after death," are equivalent to, "The *attā* exists after death," etc. At the end of the passage all of the alternatives are discarded as wrong points of view, so that even if *attā* here could mean the Spiritual Self its existence after death would be discarded.

On p. 58 and in notes 195-97 is the claim that such words as *brahmabhūta* and *brahmaloka* refer to the neuter Brahma and represent exactly the same point of view as the Upanishads—*brahmaloka* being the finality.

The Buddhist tradition interprets *brahmabhūta* as *seṭṭhabhūta* or *ariyabhūta*, taking *brahma* in its literal meaning of "great,

best, noble," not in the Upanishadic meaning. The commentary to D. 3, 84 (referred to in note 298) says *dhammo hi seṭṭh' aṭṭhena brahmā ti vuccati* (the *dhamma* is called *brahma*, in the sense of being the best). Also in Buddhist cosmology *brahmaloka* is not the finality, is merely the highest point in the world of becoming (*bhavagga*), which is characterized by the three attributes of *anicca*, *dukkha*, and *anatta* (as being impermanent, painful, and not-self). The Never-returner goes to *brahmaloka* but *from* there passes to Nibbāna without returning to this world. In composition both the neuter and the masculine stems *brahman* becomes *brahma*. The word *brahmaloka* means either the highest place in the world of becoming (*bhavagga*) or the world of the Brahma gods. The worlds of the Brahma gods fall under both the second and the third categories of those worlds which are material, subtle material, and non-material. The highest of the Brahma worlds are non-material, but they do have the characteristic of *vijñāna*, which must be transcended by the saint. The Pāli texts frequently refer to union with Brahmā or going to the world of Brahmā, but it is always the masculine form which is used, not the neuter.

With reference to note 196 CHALMERS is right and COOMARASWAMY is wrong. It must be the masculine Brahmā agreeing with the masculines *bhagavā* and *diṭṭho*, not the neuter Brahma. In Pāli, *ā* is always shortened before a double consonant.

A Hindu tradition extending from the Upanishadic definition of Brahma as *vijñānaghana*, *prajñānaghana*, or *vijñānamaya* to the Vedantic definition of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda* ascribes to Brahma cognition (or consciousness, if that translation be preferred).

Uncompromisingly Pāli Buddhism considers *vijñāna* to be one of the five *khandhas* and therefore subject to the three attributes of being impermanent, painful, and not-self.

The only way in which COOMARASWAMY's contention can be made even plausible is to emphasize such Upanishadic passages as *neti neti* (not this, not that), *nāmarūpād vimuktaḥ* (free from material and non-material elements), and *ānandamaya* (consisting of bliss) as parallel to the Pāli Buddhist *animitto nibbāno* (Nirvāna without attributes), discard all linguistic treatment,

and argue merely for psychological identity between the states reached by the Buddhist saint and the Upanishadic sage.

Granting this it is clear that the rationalizations built up around this, the theological and philosophical framework, and the linguistic terminology took very different forms in the two traditions. But then he would have to discard much of the Upanishadic and later Vedantic tradition, or there would be not one but two or more Hindu traditions based on the Upanishads and the matter could not be settled by quoting chapters and verses but only by imposing a subjective interpretation on them or by employing historical and linguistic methods.

COOMARASWAMY minimizes the difficulties involved in identifying the Hindu and Buddhist traditions. The whole Hindu tradition considered the whole Buddhist tradition to be unorthodox. Hindu philosophical literature is full of the most adverse criticism of Buddhism, not only as regards externals but as regards its most essential doctrines.

The Buddhism and Hinduism described by COOMARASWAMY are very sublimated religions which correspond to the great institutionalized religions of Buddhism and Hinduism as Meister Eckhart corresponds to the great institutionalized religion of Christianity. There is no real description of later Buddhism and Hinduism as historical and institutionalized religions. He deals primarily with the earliest phases of Hinduism, which are called by most scholars Brahmanism and the religion of the *Rig Veda*.

There are some good things in the book, but by very questionable linguistics the author exaggerates the importance of certain passages which, by proper interpretation, can be made to fit his scheme and completely ignores a mass of evidence which cannot be made to fit the theory.

Only by an act of faith—and credulity—is it possible to see in the *Rig Veda*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and Pāli Buddhism an abstruse mystical metaphysics.

WALTER E. CLARK.